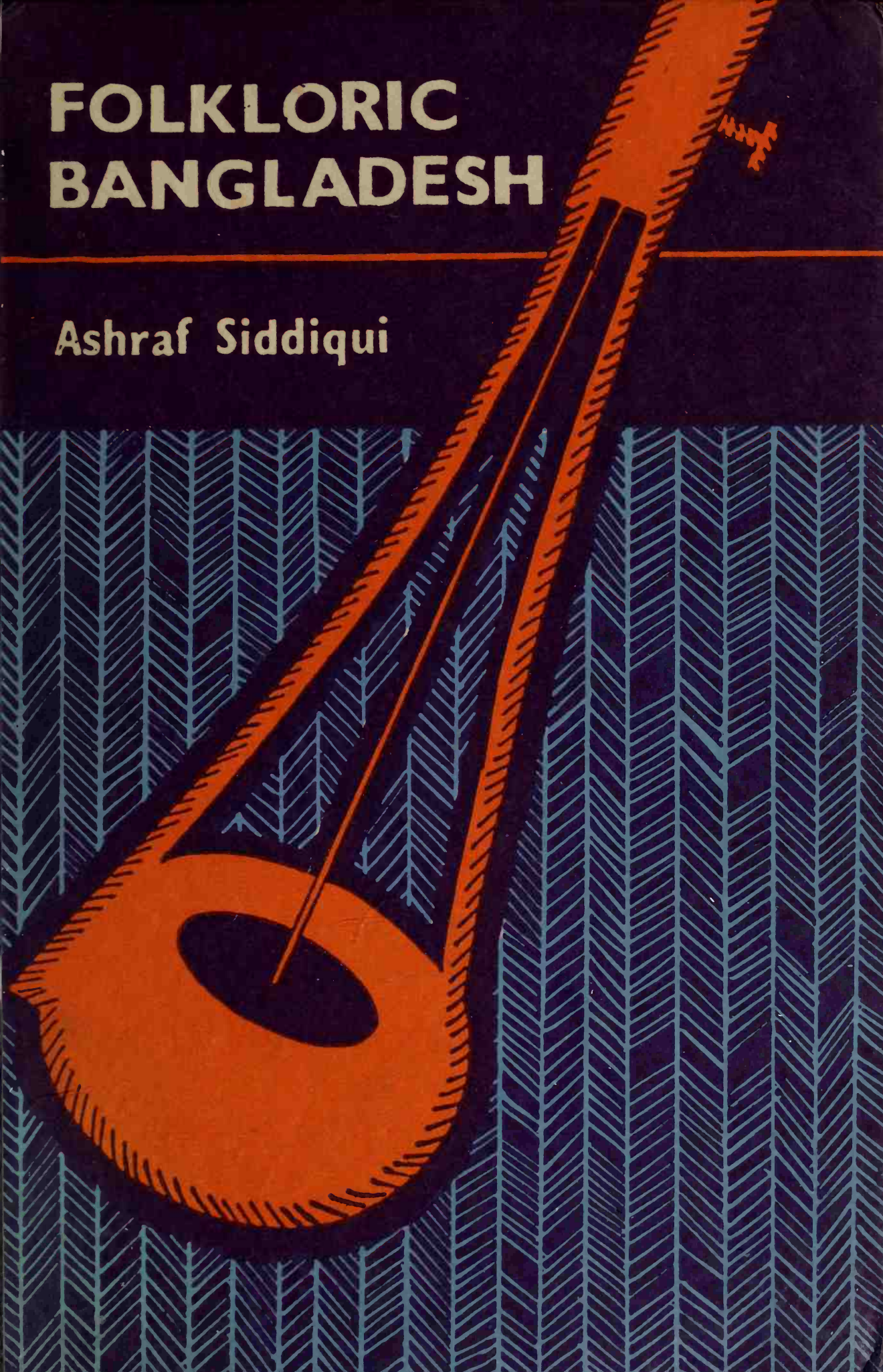


FOLKLORIC BANGLADESH

Ashraf Siddiqui





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FOLKLORIC BANGLADESH

By

Dr. ASHRAF SIDDIQUI

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First Edition / Part 1383

[December, 1976]

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**FOLKLORIC BANGLADESH : A Collection of Essays on Folk
literature of Bangladesh by Dr. Ashraf Siddiqui. Published by
Fazle Rabbi, Director, Publications, Sales & Printings,
Bangla Academy, Dacca, Bangladesh.**

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A WORD

Articles contained in this book were published in successive parts in such national and international journals as *Bangladesh Observer*, *Morning News*, *Freedom*, *Folklore*, *Asian Folklore*, etc. The author sat again in the library, has re-written and re-edited almost all the articles to give the present shape. Folklore is an important subject of study both in ours and foreign countries. It is hoped that these articles, will, in a limited context, present a picture of folklore heritage of Bangladesh, politically, which is a new but historically and ethnically is a very old—old—country. If this treatise is accepted by the readers, the author will deem his pains repaid.

A. S.

"Is there any other greater thing of one's own country than these tales;...Where are those *Rajputra, Bengama-Bengami...Sat-samudra* and *tero nadi*...These fairy tales through the ages, through the destruction of kingdoms—incessantly penetrates the hearts of our Bengali boys...

—RABINDRANATH TAGORE

"...It (*Malanchamala*) is a tale of which a nation might well be proud; it has all the attributes of of a beautiful lyric; it contains a conception of purity and love which evince a high state of civilization,"

—W. R. GOURLAY

"...The...fables in *Panchatantra* and *Hitopadesh* made a triumphant march to the West and exercised very great influence in shaping the literature of middle ages of Europe..."

—DR. DINESH CHANDRA SEN

"...They (Bengali Ballads) are in themselves worthy of high place in Bengali poetry, and in the treasury of the ballad literature of the world..."

—DR. W. SUTTON PAGE

"...A work of great interest might be compiled upon the origin of popular fiction, and the transmission of similar tales from age to age, and from country to country..."

—SIR WALTER SCOTT

Other publications of the author :

In memory of

Kabi Jassimuddin

Shilpacharya Jainul Abedin

Other publications of the author :

Poems : Talebmaster O Onyanya kavita (1950), Biskanya (1955), Sat Bhai Champa (1955), Uttar Akasher Tara (1958), Tirish Basanter Phul (2 Vols., 1975), Kunch Baraner Kanya (1976); **Juvenile** : Kagajer Nauka (1962 ; 2nd. ed. 1976); **Edited** : Natun Kavita (1950), Chotader Kavita (1954); **Short Story** : Rabea Apa (1955); **Edited** : Galpa Sankalan (1954), Galpa Sanchan (1963); **Memoirs** : Rabindranather Santiniketon (1974), Ja Dekhehi Ja Jenechi Ja Mufazzal Haider Choudhurir Patravali (1977); Peyechi (1976); **Edited** : Jamidar Darpana (1955 ; 2nd. ed. 1956), Gaji Miyanar Bastani (1960), Unnata Jeevana (1954), Kishore Ganjer Loka-Kahini (Vol.1. 1965); **Research** : Loka-Sahitya (1963 ; 2nd. ed. 1977), Kinbadantir Bangla (1975), Bengali Riddles (1961), Tales from Bangladesh (1976), Bengali Folklore (1977), Our Foklore : Our Heritage (1977), Lokayata Bangla (1977) Shuva Nava, barsha (1977); **Childrens' Books** : Juger Katha (1954), Sinher Mama Bhombal Dass (1963), Amar Desher Rupa-Kahini (1964), Charar Mela (1964); Bhombal Dass (1959; 2nd. ed. 1974), Toontoony and Other Tales (1962), Tales from Asian Countries (1975); **Translation** : Sagar Theke Ana (1957),* Majar Majar Ankogulo (1957), Chalo Jai Boi Pari (1957), Ek Je Chilo Sinha Moshai (1958), Pintoor Digbijay (1958), Mahanubhava Lincoln (1958), Duniata Hather Muthoi (1958), Maper Katha (1965) etc.

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FOLKLORIC BANGLADESH

I

Back of all literature stretches an unmapped and immeasurable world of oral tradition which may roughly be called Folklore. As in other countries in the world in Bangladesh also we can discover an enormous amount of influence of folklore on our old and modern Bengali literature. It has now become proverbial that "Shakespeare is no Shakespeare without folklore". If one is to analyze and understand the Bengali literature, it is therefore, "necessary that he should be familiar with the folkloric heritage of the country." The writer of this paper, however, will endeavour to give a short historical background of folklore scholarship and its prospect in Bangladesh.

II

The abundant folklore of present-day Bangladesh, therefore, contains a variety of elements, which is partly to be explained by historical forces. From the third century A.D. on, the Mouryas, the Guptas, the Palas, the Senas and the Muslims came one after another to rule the land and they grafted their ways of life and culture traits on the indigenous population. Subsequently Portuguese, French and English ships anchored in the harbours of Bengal, and left not only their merchandise but also their customs. Among these foreign traders, the British became most powerful and were able to consolidate their authority at the expense of the fading empire of the Mughal rulers. The battle of Plassy in 1757 ended with the defeat of the Nawab of Bengal.¹ This British

1 The word "Bengal" throughout this study will include the geographical areas of Bangladesh and West Bengal. Similarly "India" will include the present geographical areas of India and Bangladesh. The term "Indians" will signify both Indians and Bengalees, if otherwise not specifically mentioned.

victory ensured the supremacy of the British East India Company over the entire Sub-continent including Bengal for nearly two hundred years. As a result the folklore of Bangladesh will present an interesting variety both anthropological and sociological.

III

There is no denying the fact that the first phase of folklore collecting was started by the British rulers of India, though the purpose behind it was obviously political and administrative. As soon as the British East India Company became ruler of Bengal, it requested the British civil officers to learn about the people of the land through their traditions and customs. Consequently under the directives of the Company, scholars like William Jones (1746-1794), a judge of the old Supreme Court, Calcutta, established the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in the year 1784. This Society promoted the study of the humanities, including materials later recognized as folklore, which were published in the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.² The first volume of *Asiatic Research* contains an interesting article, "Trial by Ordeal" by Ali Ebrahim Khan, a Magistrate, (vol. I, 1798, pp. 389-404). Khan discussed in this article various kinds of ordeals then prevalent in this country. Solvyns Balt, a French artist, published *The Costumes of Hindustan* in four volumes from 1804-1812 which contained sixty coloured engravings explaining the costumes, manners and custom in India.

Under the British initiative, the study of folklore was advanced primarily by British civil officers and European missionaries. In order to present the folklore activities of this period, the writer of this paper will discuss these two groups separately.

- 2 His presidential address is still quoted like a proverb : "...what are the intended objects of your inquiries...? Man and Nature ; whatever is performed by the one, or produced by the other...you will trace the annals ... traditions ... musics ... architecture ... painting and poetry... [*Asiatic Research*, London reprint, 1 (1798), XI-XVI ; for details see *Tales from Bangladesh*, Dr. Ashraf Siddiqui ed. (Dacca, 1976) p. VI]

After the Sepoy Revolution of 1857, we find a more congenial atmosphere in which to investigate folklore. In 1858, by the proclamation of Queen Victoria, the administration was transferred from the East India Company to a Viceroy, the representative of the Queen of England. From then on, the English officials, before leaving England, were instructed to mix with the Indian people, to try to gain their confidence, and also to respect their religion, culture and customs. The officers who came to India were clearly familiar with the importance of anthropology, ethnology and folklore. Such journals and serials were founded as : *Indian Antiquary* (Bombay, 1872-1933), *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* (Calcutta, 1886-1936), *North Indian Notes and Queries* (1891-1896), *the Imperial Gazetteers* (26 vols., London, 1892, 1907-9), *the District Gazetteers, Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1905—) and *Man in India* (Ranchi, 1932—) etc. All of these publications recorded an enormous quantity of folkloristic, ethnological and anthropological material. Additional data on Indian folklore also appeared in non-Indian journals such as *Folk-Lore* (London, 1890—), *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1843—), *American Journal of Philology* (Baltimore, 1880—) and *the Journal of American Folklore* (Boston, 1888—), and many other native journals. Scholars must examine all these volumes and journals very carefully.

IV

Because of space limitations, we wish to mention here only the contributions of prominent civil servants and some other important scholars. William Wilson Hunter, then a Commissioner at Dacca, published his *Annals of Rural Bengal* in 1868 in London. He was the first scholar to collect and publish Santal legends. His collection has proved to be of immense anthropological importance. The Santals, a tribe found in Bangladesh and in the north-east section of India, engaged such active British ethnologists as Dr. A. Campbell (*Santal Folk-tales*, Manbhum, 1891), C.H. Bompas (*Folk-lore of the Santal Parganas*, London, 1909), P.O. Bodding (*A Chapter of Santal Folklore*, Kristiania,

1924) ; and (*Santal Folk-tales*, 3 vols., Oslo, 1925-29). The importance of the Santals in the study of primitive races is now firmly recognized.

Thomas Herbert Lewin, Deputy Commissioner at Chittagong Hill Tracts, offered an authentic ethnological survey of tribal people in his *The Hill Tracts in Chittagong and the Dwellers Therein* (1869) and *The Wild Races of South-Eastern India* (London, 1870). He recorded some myths, creation stories, customs and superstitions directly from oral tradition. He supported his comments with documentary notes.

D.T. Dalton, Colonel, Bengal Staff Corps and Commissioner at Chuto-Nagpur, published his *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* under the direction of the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1872. He studied the people of Bengal and presented a number of widespread folktales and legends. He was the first scholar to publish a comprehensive ethnological history of Bengali people.

G.H. Damant, another Britisher, who was a Deputy Commissioner in Rangpur, contributed a series of folktales, legends, charms and myths to the *Indian Antiquary*. The very first volume of this journal (1872) contains some well-known tales of North Bengal (Dinajpur) which he collected. His harvest of twenty-two tales makes him the first major collector of Bengali tales from Bangladesh.³

Sir George Grierson (1851-1941), whose love and deep interest for Eastern folklore and language has already become proverbial, arrived in 1873. Ultimately he published material on 179 languages and 364 dialects of this continent. Because of this scholarship, he received a Knighthood in 1912 and the Order of Merit in 1928 from the King of England. Grierson spent 26 years in India. While in charge of Rangpur District, from 1873-1877, he collected

3 Damant's wonderful collection of tales from Dinajpur have repeatedly been cited by scholars all over the world and have been referred to international TYPE and MOTIF indexes. A collection of his tales entitled as *Tales from Bangladesh*, Dr. Ashraf Siddiqui ed. was published from Dacca in 1976, mentioned earlier.

from the peasants folk-rhymes, folksongs and ballads such as the widely known 'Manik Chandrer Gan' (The Song of Manik Chandra). After these songs were published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1878), the search for similar songs was carried out in earnest. In 1898 Grierson was appointed the Superintendent of the Linguistic Survey of India. The famous Norwegian linguist and folklorist Sten Konow assisted him in this work. They decided that "a piece of folklore or some other passages in narrative prose or verse...[should be] taken down...from the mouth of the speaker on the spot" as a specimen of language of dialect. Grierson's nineteen volume *Survey* contains folklore specimens from many languages and dialects of Indian Sub-continent. Volume V, devoted to the Bengali language, is probably the most valuable one. Here he cites much folklore material, including ballads, songs and tales. Grierson is the first major collector of Bengali ballads, songs, and rhymes. His folklore essays published in the *Indian Antiquary* and *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* still serve as authentic references. The scholars during this period were greatly influenced by the establishment of a Folk-Lore Society in London in 1878.

Major Alan Playfair, then a Government Officer, who studied the tribal people wrote *The Garos* (1909) which gives an excellent account of the Garos, many of whom live in the Mymensingh District. This valuable contribution to the ethnology of the primitive peoples was one of the series published under the sponsorship of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam. S.A. Peal was one of the civilians who contributed excellent articles on the "River" and "Place" names in 1879 in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*. Mention should also be made of H. Beveridge, District Magistrate, Bogra, who published excellent articles on the Antiquities of Bogra in the same journal in 1878. J.D. Anderson's *Some Chittagong Proverbs* (1897) contains excellent example of proverbs from the Chittagong area. Mention is needed of William Crooke, who in his *The Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India* (2 vols., 1893) gave a scientific explanation of what is known as folk-cult, folk-religion and folk-rituals.

In *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (2 vols., Calcutta, 1891) Herbert H. Risley of the Indian Civil Service applied to Indian anthropology the methods of systematic research followed by European anthropologists. This work, besides containing a great deal of anthropological information, included myths, legends and fictional folktales from Bengal.

Sir F.B. Bradley-Birt, a District Collector of Bengal, compiled *Bengal Fairy Tales* (London, 1920). This book contains some excellent marchen typical of present-day Bangladesh ; although Birt does not disclose his sources, however, the folklorist can easily identify international tale types in his collection. Many of these tales will be found in the collections of Dakshinaranjan Mitra Majumder, mentioned later.

Along with the civil servants, the missionaries of Great Britain, Europe and the United States contributed importantly to folklore collection and publication. Since their aim was to preach Christianity among the natives, it was incumbent on them to know the native customs. Among the missionaries, the name of William Carey deserves special mention. Carey served in Fort William College from 1800-1831 and with the help of native *munshis* he published a series of Bengali books, edited newspapers and encouraged the translation from Sanskrit and Persian of folktales known in oral traditions.

Right Rev. Reginald Heber (*Narrative of a Journey through Upper Provinces of India from Calcutta to Bombay* ; 2 vols. ; 1824--25), Thomas Bacon (*Oriental Annual*, 2 vols. ; 1840) and Caleb Wright (*India and Its Inhabitants* : 1856) on the other hand, were though casual travellers, kept excellent informations in their books about the customs and tradition of our country.⁴ Reverend William Morton published in 1832 *A Collection of Proverbs*, a book, containing Bengali proverbs from East Bengal as well. Under the general title, "Hymns of the Earliest Bengali

⁴ He recorded very interesting information on *Muharram* and Hindu festival *Gajans*, etc., then prevalent in the country.

Poets", J. Beam began in 1872 to print Bengali songs in the *Indian Antiquary*.

Reverend James Long was a prolific collector of Bengali proverbs and sayings. His publications include *Three Thousand Bengali Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings Illustrating Native Life and Feelings Among Ryots and Women* (1872), *Eastern Proverbs and Emblems Illustrating Old Truth* (London, 1881) and *Two Thousand Bengali Proverbs (Probad Mala) Illustrating Native Life and Feelings* (1868). Many folk rhymes and charms also have been incorporated among these proverbs and sayings which were used by later compilers of Bengali rhymes.

The missionaries were followed by such native collectors as Kanailal Ghosal (*Probad Pustaka, A Book of Proverbs*, 1890), Dwarakanath Basu (*Probad Songraha, A Book of Proverbs*, 1893), and Rajendranath Bannerjee (*A Collection of Agricultural Sayings in Lower Bengal*, 1893).

William McCulloch's *Bengali Household Tales* (London, 1912) may be regarded as one of the best folktale collections of Bengal because of its notes and organization. Though the tales were collected from a Brahmin informant around 1886-87, the book was published in London in 1912 after McCulloch had retired. His notes refer to parallel examples of both literary and oral stories in other eastern and western collections. It should be noted that the above mentioned writers were influenced by the English Anthropological school headed by Darwin, Tylor and others.

Lal Behari Day, a native Christian, whose father came from Dacca, published a series of books and essays on Bengali festivals, holidays, sports and games, caste system, village folk and folklife in Bengal. His *Folk-Tales of Bengal* (London and Calcutta, 1883), collected from an old maid, mother of Govinda, created considerable interest among European and American readers. Many versions of these tales have since been collected in East Bengal. Day's *Bengal Peasant's Life* (1874) is a realistic and objective study of folklife. Day influenced a host of writers such as Kasindranath (*Popular Tales of Bengal*, 1905), Shovana

Devi (*Orient Pearls*, 1915) and others in collecting and compiling oral tradition. It was, however, Sarat Chandra Mitra, who made excellent studies of folklore on the harvest made by former collectors and scholars. He published nearly 250 articles in various native and foreign journals which have always been referred to many research publications both in country and abroad. Another prolific writer was Abdul Wali who also contributed much to various journals including Asiatic and Anthropological Societies.

The second phase of the folklore movement was introduced by Bengali scholars of nationalistic tendencies. Rabindranath Tagore was the pioneer during this period. From 1885 to 1899, he published four essays showing the importance of folk-literature. These four essays were compiled in his book *Loka-Sahitya* (Folk-Literature) in 1907. Tagore patronized others and he himself collected a large number of folklore materials from his vast estate in East Bengal. He himself wrote, "When I was at Selaidah, I would always keep close contact with the *Bauls* (mystic folksingers) and have discussions with them, and it is a fact that I infused tunes of *Baul* songs into many of my own songs." (*Folklore*, II, Calcutta, 1961, p. 14). Dr. Dusan Zbavitel, Professor of Indology in the Oriental Institute of Czechoslovakia, writes : "It is my firm belief that without staying in the countryside for as long as he did, Rabindranath could never have become what he was, either as a man or a poet. (*ibid.*, p. 14). Critics have commented that Tagore has used numerous folklore themes in many of his poems, songs, dramas, novels and short stories. Tagore's example was followed by the leading Bengali journals. *Bangiya Sahitya Parisat*, a Bengali literary society, was established under his encouragement in 1893. The *Sahitya Parisat* journal, from the year of its inception (1894), began publishing folklore materials collected from the various regions now comprising Bangladesh.

The first decade of the present century witnessed a turbulent nationalistic and political agitation, better known as the "Non-Cooperation Movement". British merchandise was

boycotted and home made products received preference. Traditions and folklore now were acclaimed. Calcutta University encouraged its professor of Modern Indian Language, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, to collect ballads. Dinesh Chandra, a resident of East Bengal, who read Percy and others' ballad collections, was aware of the rich ballad heritage of Mymensingh. Chandra Kumar De of Mymensingh was appointed to collect ballads from this area, including information about the singers. Four large volumes of *Eastern Bengal Ballads : Mymensingh* with texts in both Bengali and English, were published from 1923 to 1932. These ballads attracted attention all over the world. His other works, *Glimpses of Bengal Life* (1915), *Prachin Bangla Sahitye Musalmaner Abodan* (1940 : *Contribution of Muslims to Old Bengali Literature*) and especially, *Folk-Literature of Bengal* (1920) are invaluable. In the latter book, a comparative study of some Bengali tales with those of Europe he boldly expressed the view that in India the highest level of culture was for ages represented by Magadha. Since lower Bengal, the Banga proper, was an important gateway for enterprising foreign people who traded with India, one consequence was the circulation of the *Jatakas*, the birth-stories of Buddha, from Bengal or more probably Magadha, throughout the countries of Europe and the Middle East.⁵

5 When the glory of Magadha was extinguished, GAUR (North Bengal) rose to the eminence over its ashes ; and the flower of the Magadha population for the most part migrated to Bengal. During the reign of the Pala kings, GAUR kept up the tradition of learning and other glories that had attached to the name of Magadha ; and we find that the ballads of Pala kings were not only sung in the Gangetic valley but in the picturesque hilly side of Orissa, nay, so far down as the shores of the Indian Ocean, in the Bombay Presidency. The song in honour of Manasa Devi, the home of which was the city of Champa in Bengal, travelled on the lyres of minstrels from GAUR to the remotest parts of Aryavarta [*The Folk-Literature of Bengal*, p. 49]

Abdul Gafur Siddiqui of Khulna, Abdul Karim Sahitya Bisarada of Chittagong and Ashraf Hossain Sahitya-Ratna of Sylhet, all in Bangladesh, collected a considerable amount of folklore from their own areas and published articles in various popular journals. Scholars are using this material in comparative studies.

The folktale collections by Upendra Kishore Roy Choudhury and Daksinaranjan Mitra Majumder deserve praise. Choudhury's collection of animal tales, *Toontoonir Boi* (1910 ; Book of Toontooni) and Majumder's marchen and ritual tales *Thakur Dadar Jhuli* (1908; Grandfather's story), *Thakur Mar Jhuli* (1906 ; Grandmother's story), *Than Didir Thale* (1911 ; Grandmother's bag) *Dadamoshaer Thale* (1924 ; Grandfather's bag) and others were published during this period. Majumder was probably the first collector to use a phonograph in field collecting, and all his books faithfully reproduce typical folktales and folklife in the then East Bengal. Jogindra Nath Sinker's *Khukumanir Chara* (1902 ; Folk Rhymes for Children) is an authentic collection of Bengali rhymes. It is interesting to note that almost all of these writers used materials found mostly in East Bengal.

Mansur Uddin, another prominent folklorist of Bangladesh, took up the task of collecting *Baul* songs, which had been started by Tagore. After the publication of the first volume (1939), in 1942, Calcutta University published his second volume of *Hara-Mani* (Lost Gems), which included a few hundred songs. Since then ten additional volumes of his collections have been

...The Indian fables in *Panchatantra* and the *Hitopadesh* made a triumphant march to the west and exercised very great influence in shaping the literature of middle ages of Europe (*ibid.*, p. 3). For a detail of this theory one can see N.M. Penzer's *The Ocean of Story*, vol. V, London, 1926. p. 210 ; and also Franklin Edgerton's *The Panchatantra Reconstructed*, University of Harvard Oriental Series (1924).

...It (Malanchamala) is a tale of which a nation might well be proud ; it has all the attributes of a beautiful lyric ; it contains a conception of purity and love which evince a high state of civilization [W.R. Gourlay, *ibid.*, P. X]

published in Dacca. Jassim Uddin, who started his career as a collector of folklore for Dinesh Chandra Sen, had published collections of folksongs and folktales. He was, however, most famous for his use of folklore themes in dramas and in poetry. His published folksong collections include *Rangila Nayer Majhi* (The Boatman of the Green Boat) in 1938. His collection of humorous folktales, published in Bengali as *Bangalir Hashir Galpa* (1960) appeared along with English translation. He also published *Jarigan* (1968) and many others are awaiting publication. Special mention should be made of Late Abbas Uddin, a scholar, accomplished singer, and collector of folksongs. His influence in the contemporary folklore movement of our country is immense. Hundreds of his genuine folksong records pressed by commercial recording companies sold like hot cakes. Popularly known as the father of Bengali folksongs, Abbas Uddin has made folksongs popular and has created a school of folksingers in Bangladesh. These three scholars, Mansur Uddin, Jassim Uddin and Abbas Uddin, represented the country at Folklore Conferences held in London, at Indian University in Bloomington, and in Germany, in past years.

V

The third phase of the folklore movement was begun in Dacca, then East Bengal, in the year 1938. In that year a conference was held under the auspices of the Eastern-Mymensingh-Literary-Society, at Kishoreganj. Dr. Mohammad Shahidullah, then Chairman of the Department of Bengali at Dacca University, a lover of folk-tradition, in his presidential address lauded the great value of folklore study and his remarks were carried by many of the journals and newspapers of the country. This enthusiasm resulted in the formation of the 'Eastern Bengal Folklore Collection Society' at Dacca University. Dr. Shahidullah became its President, and Asutosh Bhattacharya its Secretary. Chandra Kumar De, a collector of Eastern Bengal Ballads, Sirajuddin Kashimpuri

and Purna Chandra Bhattacharya, two other enthusiastic collectors, and Jassim Uddin joined their efforts in this project. A.K. Fazlul Huq, then Chief Minister of Bengal, patronized the project and promised substantial monetary support. Shortly, courses in folklore were included upto the graduate level in Dacca University.

Shahidullah's contribution (a follower of Benfey's Indianist school) was important because he clearly pointed out that folklore materials pass from one country to another and hence a comparative outlook was a must. While Dr. Shahidullah showed the international aspect of folklore, Guru Saday Dutt, an inhabitant of Sylhet and later posted in various districts of East Bengal, as a Civilian, contributed series of articles on folk arts and crafts of Bengal in international journals. Asutosh Bhattachayra's *Bangla Mangal Kayjer ithas* (1939) and *Banglar Loka-Sahitya*, (1954) are however, prominent works during this period. His books include much materials from his native East Bengal which he collected while he was residing here.

Folklore activities was, however, much accelerated when the then Government established the Bengali Academy in Dacca in 1955 to promote research work on Bengali language and literature. The council of the Bengali Academy, in its very first meeting made a decision to promote collecting, preserving and publishing of folklore materials. Sufficient funds were allocated for this purpose. Circulars were issued all over the country through newspapers, private organizations and government agencies, requesting that folklore materials be sent to the Academy.

A number of folklore collectors were appointed by the Academy to work on the project in the regions rich in folklore. As a result, folklore materials of high quality poured in an unending stream. While collecting was thus being established on a systematic basis, the Academy began to publish folklore collections. The first publication, *Momen-shahir Loka-Sahitya* (Folklore of Mymensingh), collected and

edited by Rowshan Izdani, came out in 1957. His book contains specimens of different genres of folklore material of his native Mymensingh district. Izdani was, however, more a collector than a scholar.

In May, 1960, mainly based on the proposal of the present writer, the Folklore Committee of the Bengali Academy resolved that the folklore materials collected by the Academy should be edited by eminent scholars before publication in a scientific method. The Committee decided that each editor should work with a particular kind of material from a specific region. In the introductory chapter, the editor was instructed to cover the following points :

1. Information about the field and the informants
2. Social and cultural background of the material
3. Functional use of each genre
4. Typical regional characteristics, if there are any
5. Historical elements, if there are any
6. International circulation, if it can be determined
7. Literary value, etc.

So far the Bengali Academy has published a huge number of books including some in English. Thousands of books may now be compiled from the huge material collected by the Academy.⁶

VI

So to conclude that the establishment of the Folk-Lore Society in London in 1878 and Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784, mentioned earlier, mark the beginning of an

6 For a detailed picture one can consult Dr. Mazharul Islam's *A History of Folktale Collection in India and Pakistan* (Ph. D. thesis, I.U., 1963; Dacca, 1970), and my *Bengali Folklore Collections and Studies During the British Period* (Ph.D. thesis, I. U., 1966); *Tales from Bangladesh*, *ibid.*, (Dacca, 1976); *Loka-Sahitya*, *ibid.*, 2nd. ed. (Dacca, 1977).

emphasis on scientific procedure in the study and collecting of folklore. The influence of the Asiatic and the Folk-Lore Societies were greatly felt in the then India because many of the government officials and missionaries active there were affiliated with them. Dorson has described the foundation of the Folk-Lore Society and its influence on English folklorists thus :

In a period roughly bounded by 1870 and 1910 England witnessed a vigorous activity in folklore. Within these years the first folklore society in the world was formed ; the first folklore journal [*Folk-Lore Record*, 1878-1882] was issued, and filled with brilliant articles; collectors' handbooks [Gomme, *The Handbook of Folk-Lore*, 1st ed. 1887; 2nd ed. 1890 ; enlarged ed. by Burne, 1914] were compiled, and systematic country collections were undertaken ; folk materials hidden in magazine files, chapbooks, and similar antiquarian sources were located and reprinted; an International Folklore Congress was held at London in 1891, dominated by English scholars; and a steady outpour of theoretical and controversial treatises wrestled with the problems of the new science.⁷

In the first issue of *Folk-Lore* [1890], the organ of the Folk-Lore Society, which succeeded *Folk-Lore Record* [1878-1882] and *Folk-Lore Journal* [1883-1889], the editor Joseph Jacobs clearly stated ;

Since Mr. Thoms invented the term in 1846, Folk-Lore has undergone a continual widening of its meaning and its reference...Folk-Lore has now been extended to include the whole vast background of popular thought, feeling and usages, out of which, and in contrast to which have been developed all the individual products of human activity which go to make up what is called History.⁸

7 Richard M. Dorson, "The Great Team of English Folklorists," *JAF*, LXIV (1951), 1

8 *Folk-Lore*, I (1890), 1

...And in all the studies an attempt will be made to give exact and prompt bibliographical information of noteworthy contributions in books or articles published at home and abroad.⁹

In the same way Burne in her *Handbook* wrote :

Whatever country be the scene of operations, the first requisite in collecting folklore is to enter into friendly relations with the folk...he [the collector] must adopt a sympathetic attitude and show an interest in the people themselves.¹⁰

The impulse of the new science of anthropology, of course, formed the background for the new group of folklorists in this era. This anthropological influence can be traced to the work of Darwin.

Darwin published his great work *On the Origin of Species* in 1859 with a call for evolutionary treatment in the science of man. Darwin felt that all morality was the result of evolution and that in man it had been produced not by natural selection working on the individual, but by the improvement of various communities' moral standards which increased their survival potential. In *The Descent of Man* (1871) he made cultural studies the legitimate heirs of evolutionary biology.

In response to the *Origin of Species*, Tylor in his *Researches into the Early History of Mankind* (1865) and his *Primitive Culture* (1871) "crystallized the concept of cultural ascent for folklorists as well as anthropologists."¹¹ His *Primitive Culture* covered a broad field, including mythology, philosophy, religion, language, art, and culture. Tylor's emphasis was on 'survival' and he concerned himself with the unity of human culture envisaged as a continuity. He

9 *Ibid.*, 2

10 *The Handbook of Folk-Lore* (London, 1924), p. 6

11 Richard M. Dorson, "Folklore Studies in England," *Folklore Research Around the World* (Bloomington, 1961), p. 22

contended that all people have gone through the same stages of culture in a direct line of evolution, and that in each stage they react to the world and express themselves in the same way. Thus in the higher stage there may be 'survivals' of the earlier stages.

Tylor's evolutionary anthropology was carried on by Frazer, who found in primitive culture an opportunity to indulge his interest in ancient survivals. His *The Golden Bough* (2 vols., 1890; several volumes published under different titles were issued in an enlarged edition of 12 vols.; 3rd ed. from 1911-1915), a comparative study of myths, tales, rituals, and other genres of folklore, drew equally from ethnology, ancient history and European and Oriental folklore. Among many areas and cultures Frazer refers to, we find numerous references to material from various parts of Bengal collected and studied by English civil servants, missionaries, and native collectors.¹² His *Totemism* (1887), *Questions on the Customs, Beliefs and Languages of Savages* (1907), *The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead* (3 vols., 1913, 1922, and 1924), *The Worship of Nature* (1926), *The Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion* (3 vols. 1933, 1934, and 1936) were stimulating studies which threw light on the various explanations of folklore. Frazer's data was second-hand and often inaccurate, but his theories on religion were stimulating. The study of direct and parallel evolution of cultures and of survivals in culture, as enlarged

12 These references may be found in the following volumes and pages: Rain making in Bengal, I, 278, 283, 284; Maghs, II, 38; Marriage ceremony at the digging of wells, II, 146; The Oraons, II, 148; VIII, 117; Mourners touch a coral ring, III, 315; Bengali women, their euphemisms for snakes and thieves, III, 402; Kings and their rule of succession, IV, 51; The Oraons and the Mundas, V, 46, 240, X, 311; The Korwas, VII, 123; The Hos, VIII, 117; Seclusion of girls at puberty, X, 68; Stories of the External Soul, XI, 101-102; etc.

by Frazer, encouraged such folklorists as MacCulloch in his *The Childhood of Fiction* (1905) to study folktales primarily as the products of primitive societies, being filled with motifs going back to remote periods of beliefs in Europe and Asia. Frazer and MacCulloch overlooked the consideration that each people has its own historical development and its own culture.

However, these synthesis seemingly gave a "scientific basis to the doctrine of survivals"¹³ cherished by the anthropological folklorists, and prolific scholars such as Gomme, Hartland, Lang, Clodd and Nutt, "who together combated and vanquished the solar mythologists"¹⁴ led by Max Muller, Cox, Gubernatis and Robert Brown etc.

In short, Lang's *Custom and Myth* (1884) and *Myth, Ritual and Religion* (1887), Hartland's *The Science of Fairy Tales* (1891), *The Legend of Perseus* (1894-96), Gomme's *Ethnology in Folklore* (1892), *Folklore as a Historical Science* (1908), Clodd's *Tom Tit Tot* (1898) and Cox's *Cinderella* (1893), were more or less echoes of this survival theory, and thus the doctrine of survivals adopted from the theory of biological evolution unified the works of Victorian scholars.

With the development of anthropological theory under the influence of such men as van Gennep, Naumann, and Boas, the theory of unilinear cultural evolution was rejected in favour of cultural pluralism. Neither they realised the importance of Finish School, type, motif, variations and above all 'personal complex' of the informants. Accordingly, the influence of the British folklore scholars diminished, and by the end of the second decade of the twentieth century their theories had been completely replaced.

It was quite natural that folklore collection and study in the then India by British civil servants and missionaries from

13 Dorson, "Folklore Studies in England," *Folklore Research Around the World*, p. 22

14 *Ibid.*, p. 22

1870 on received much impetus from survivalist scholarship prosecuted in England. Richard Cornac Temple, William Crooke, Herbert Risley, George Grierson, C.H. Bompas, Rev. James Long, and others who spent long years in India were acquainted with the folklore scholarship in London and they employed these theories in their work in India. Crooke, Long, Grierson and many other civil servants contributed original articles to *Folk-Lore* and other journals. Native scholars such as Sarat Chandra Mitra and Abdul Wali directly or indirectly were also influenced by the folklore scholars in England. Mitra himself was a contributor to *Folk-Lore* and other international journals.

It is true that folklore activities in England gave a great impetus to the European civil servants and missionaries residing in India. But all of them were not equally good scholars. Neither did they rigidly follow the methods by English folklorists. Local scholars and collectors, on the other hand, imbued with a nationalistic spirit, saw in folklore a long continuing cultural heritage and in some cases they allowed emotion to colour their discussions and scholarship. Among the nationalist folklorists the names of Rabin-dranath Tagore and Dinesh Chandra Sen rank high. Their impetus and encouragement inspired a whole generation of collectors and scholars to collect and study folklore, as has been observed in this study.

VII

It is needless to say that the British anthropologists and survivalists headed by Darwin, Tylor, Frazer, MacCulloch, Gomme, Hartland, Lang, Clodd, Nutt, Andrew Lang and others on the one hand, and such prolific Indianists as Benfey, Max Muller, Bloomfield, Cowell, Tawney and Penzer on the otherhand, reigned over the folklore scene of Indo-Bangladesh subcontinent almost from the beginning till the

last days of British supremacy. The anthropological and survival theories changed but their followers still clinged to the old theories, they talked, debated, essayed which in some cases though were illuminating, national, but in no ways were international. Folklore scholarship during the British period, nay, even today in our country, has less comparatively been influenced by the Finish Historic-Geographic method, the modern anthropological and ethnological theories, the Psychoanalytical Schools or even Structuralists. While Finland, Ireland, Sweden and America are emphasising on the modern 'field method' and specially on the 'style', 'contents' and 'functions' of folklore or folksong, we are still gossiping on the same Victorian armchair, our eyes kept wide-open on printed materials, books or theories. What is needed now is a first hand knowledge of folklore in our field, its life-story, the people, tellers, informants, singers and cultural hinterlands. Then only we can proceed for comparative studies in respect of its *types* and *motifs*, distributions and circulations as has been followed by the contemporary American, Irish, Finnish and Russian scholars. We have our comparative tools, as discussed earlier, we have printed materials. We now need to sit down with our collected materials and find out our cultural heritage in other countries, may be, in other parts of the globe. It is high time that we endeavour to spread our researches from the national to the international levels.

FOLKSONGS OF BANGLADESH

If one is to make an historical survey of music including folksongs, ballads and similar traditional materials of Bangladesh he must be acquainted with the social and ethnic condition of the country.

Formerly, a province of British India, Bengal now forms the state of West Bengal in India and the whole of Bangladesh. It is needless to say that Bengal has a long history and a rich cultural heritage. It was in Bengal that Britishers consolidated their power ; Bengal was the headquarters and capital of British India for nearly one hundred years, so that British education and civilization have naturally greatly influenced the development of Bengal. Because the light of English education fell first on Bengal, the people of Bengal naturally took the lead in political, social and nationalistic movements, not only in Bengal but throughout the whole of India. The study and collection of folklore was undertaken in Bengal both by the British civil servants and missionaries for the purpose of improved administration and also for a better understanding of Indian social structures. Local collectors and scholars imbued with a nationalistic spirit, have enthusiastically collected and studied folklore. In fact, at the present time, active folklore work is going on in both West Bengal and Bangladesh and is making a significant contribution to the advancement of folklore science in Asia.

A study of Bengali folklore is, however, incomplete without an examination of the history and culture of Bengal. The history of Bengal is obscure until the third century B.C., and we can know only that it formed a part of the Mourya Empire of Asoka, the Great. However, if one analyzes the cultural heritage of present-day Bengal in the areas of tradition, folklore and lan-

guage, he can easily discover the repertoire of various other primitive or aboriginal cultures.

Among the popular elements...met with all over India, Bengal has got their largest varieties. This fact cannot but have [a] historical reason behind it. The different races of humanity, which entered India in pre-historic times by the North-East of this sub-continent must have had passed through Bengal at one time. It can, however, be easily imagined that they not only passed through this country, but also lived in it until they were driven out of their settlements subsequently by more powerful invading races, because Bengal has got her natural attraction. In medieval India there was a saying which meant that "there was a way in but no way out of Bengal."¹

In fact, Bengal was a paradise for food-producing primitive races. As a result, all the races which once settled in prehistoric Bengal made it their permanent residence and in time each developed its respective culture.

The Negrito is considered to be the oldest specimen of the human race existing in the world. People containing Negrito blood are found in South India and Assam; existence of Negrito elements in the tribal population of Assam especially among the Nagas, proves that these people once must have passed through Bengal on their way to Burma, the Malayan Peninsula and the Pacific Islands.

The Proto-Australoid who came from the west forms the basic element of the Indo-Bangladesh population. By admixture with other elements, especially with the Negritos, who came before, and with the Mongoloids who came after them, they gave rise to the Kol or Munda type in Bengal and Bihar, and the Mon-Khmer in Assam, Burma and Indo-China.² Some aboriginal

1 Asutosh Bhattacharya, "The Basis of Bengali Folk-Culture", *Folklore* (Calcutta, 1960), p. 14

2 R.C. Majumder, *Ancient India* (Motilal Banarasi Dass, Delhi, Patna etc., 1960), pp. 6-19

people of Choto-Nagpur, Orissa and Madhya-Pradesh speak Austric languages. A great number of Austric words still prevail in the Bengali language.³ The Khasi language of Assam, which belong to the Austric group, bears clear testimony of Austric influence in prehistoric centuries. Mongoloid people who settled in Bengal are divided into two sub-groups : one, the Paleo-Mongoloids, who live in Assam, Chittagong Hill Tracts, and Indo-Burmese frontiers; and, two, the Tibeto-Mongoloids, who are more advanced and probably migrated from Tibet at a comparatively later time.

Then comes the question of the Dravidians. It is an undisputed fact that the Dravidians entered this sub-continent through the north-western part and at one time occupied the whole of the Gangetic and the Indus Valley. A great section of the Dravidians, when driven eastward by the Aryans, must have made Bengal their home for a considerable period of time until they were pushed again towards the south-west as evidenced from the ancient epic *Ramayana*.⁴

Along with these primitive races, the Alpine, Dinaric and Armenoid, forming a sub-group of one physical type, probably came from Central Asia. They form the main elements in the present population of Bengal, Orissa, and other parts of Indo-Bangladesh. In addition, it is claimed by some scholars that a "distinct sea-borne race" from the Mediterranean reached the coast of Bengal and established their settlements before the mighty Aryan race came and drove them further east. Ultimately comes the question of the Aryans—the Nordic group—who came to India speaking the Aryan language, the earliest specimen of which is preserved in the *Vedas*.

...It is evident that almost all the races of humanity known to live in the sub-continent...with the exception

3 Dr. Muhammad Enamul Huq, *Muslim Bengali Literature* (Dacca, 1957), p. 8

4 Asutosh Bhattacharya, "The Basis of Bengali Folk-culture", *Folklore* (Calcutta, 1960), p. 16

of only a few can be imagined to have lived in or passed through Bengal at one or the other period of the pre-historic times. But as time went on all these diversities were down towards a common ideal, and the last band of unity on this diversity of culture was established by the higher religions of Hinduism on the one hand and the Islam on the other.⁵

It is needless to say that later folklore heritage of Bengal consists of varieties of elements.

It may be explained that the word 'folk-literature' or what we call in Bengali '*loka-sahitya*' is not the substitute of the term 'folklore'. In the modern folkloristics folklore is divided into two distinct branches (1) Material Folklore and (2) Formalised Folklore.

Material Folklore includes customs, traditions, old architecture, old embroidery, types of houses, types of dresses, customary decorations in festivals or rituals and similar other things.

Formalised Folklore includes all branches of our folk-literature, e.g., (1) Folktales (2) Fairy tales (3) Riddles (4) Charms (5) Folk-rhymes (6) Game-rhymes (7) Proverbs (8) Superstitions (9) Folksongs (10) Ballads and other oral literature.

Mr. Marius Barbeau, a noted Western folklorist, has coined an excellent definition for folklore. According to him :

Whenever in many callings the knowledge, experiences, wisdom, skill, the habits and practices of the past are handed down by example or spoken words, by the new generations, without any reference to book, print or school teacher...then we have folklore in its own perennial domain, at work as ever, alive and shifting, always apt to grasp and assimilate elements in its ways...[*SDFML*, p. 398].

Folklore is the knowledge of common people; the folk may be common people, but gifted individuals may be born among them. Folk poets are unlettered rather than illiterate.

The history of folklore all over the world has brought

us to the conclusion that folklore is not limited to one country. As it is handed down from generation to generation through oral tradition, the origin of folklore may be traced through thousands of years. The origin of the folk-songs or ballads or folktales or riddles or proverbs which are current even in the remotest corner of Bangladesh to-day may be discovered in Europe, America, Persia or Arabia or Asia Minor and so on. Let us give one example.

The Sparrow and the Crow is a popular folktale in the rural areas of Bangladesh. The story runs like this : One greedy crow wants to eat the flesh of an innocent sparrow. He pretends friendship with the sparrow and challenges him to a competition in eating chillies. The sparrow is defeated and had to offer his flesh to be eaten by the crow. The sparrow, however, is too clever for the crow. He requests the crow to wash his nasty and dirty beak. The river will not allow him to wash his nasty beak. The crow goes to a potter. The potter will not make a pot for him to carry water with. At last he goes to a farmer's wife to fetch fire for making the pot and burns himself into ashes. (Type 2030 B).⁶

The same story may be heard in the remotest village of West India where the sparrow and the crow instead of eating red chillis are eating *Khichury*. Such is the interesting variation or local colour in folklore. This is only one instance.

6 All tales, all over the world can be classified into Types. In modern folkloristics, type index is an important tool. In *Types of Indic Oral Tales* (by Stith Thompson and Warren E. Roberts, Helsinki, 1960) all tales of this sub-continent have been classified into 2047 Types. We find this story in Assam (Bezbaruah, *Burhiai Sadhu*, Gouhati, 1950 ; pp. 17-22) ; Central India (Verrier Elwin, *Folktales of Mahakosal*, New York, 1944; pp. 473-475) ; Punjab (Steel and Temple, *Wide Awake Story*, Bombay, 1884; pp. 111-114) ; Burmah (Aung Maung Htin, *Burmese Folk-tales*, Bombay, 1948; pp. 41-45); Bangladesh (Ashraf Siddiqui, *Toontoony Pie and Other Tales*, New York, Cleveland, 1961; pp.44-49) etc.

Innumerable interesting instances may be discovered when these folklore materials—viz., folktales, fairy tales, ballads, riddles, proverbs, folksongs, folk-rhymes, place-names, superstitions, legends, myths etc. are collected, and printed for detailed study. The folklore of Indo-Bangladesh has long since become an interesting study to almost all the folklorists in Europe and America.

FOLK BALLADS

I.

Among the earliest variety, we can say about Bengali ballads. A form of narrative folksongs composed by the folk poets of Europe in the Middle Ages are known as ballads. In Bengali these songs are called *gatha* or *geetika*.

Probably the word 'ballad' came from the French '*baller*', which meant a kind of song sung while dancing. In Danish language it is '*visé*', in Spanish it is '*romance*', in Russian it is '*bylina*', in Ukranian, it is '*dumi*', in Servian it is '*junacka*' and in Bengali it is called '*geetika*' or '*gatha*'. However, we can say that a ballad is a short, traditional and impersonal narrative told in song, transmitted orally from generation to generation, marked by its own peculiar structure and rhetoric and uninfluenced by literary convention.

Like other countries, the dates of origin of Bengali ballads will safely go upto the Middle Ages, if not earlier. Divergent opinions have been expressed as to the origin of ballads. There are two contending groups : (1) *Communalistic* and (2) *Individualistic*.

The first group saw in ballads a continuing tradition from the primitive ages and thought that these were made by a kind of communal improvisation or for communal recreation.

Later critics, persons like French sociologist Durkheim suggested that people were too indefinite, too unorganised for such concerted effort and that ballads were composed

under the direction of a leader who brought the necessary discipline in the songs and who functioned as the main organizer and guide. According to them after an individual ballad was composed, it passed on from people to people, community to community through oral tradition. In the process, some were changed, improved and sometimes deteriorated. This *individualistic* theory has been accepted by the Western scholars and ballad is being examined and studied in this light. The Indo-Bangladesh sub-continent possesses a rich heritage of traditional folklore. Bengali ballads⁷ edited by late Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, in the second decade of this century attracted the attention of the eminent scholars of the world.

The student of folklore will still face difficulties in the scientific research of these ballads for Dr. Sen did not furnish any variants of his materials. Variation is the crucial test of folklore, and it is only variations, basing which we can examine the progress of any individual ballad through various geographic, anthropological and ethnic regions. Like H_2SO_4 (Sulphuric Acid) in chemistry a ballad or a folktale is also a combination of various motifs. These motifs are nothing but the personal complex of a teller that means his own motifs. All story matters can be divided into some motifs and types. These have been defined by the western scholars as the '*Motif*' and '*Type*' of folklore. After a continuous discussion and investigation over half a century at last Finish folklorist Antti Aarne and American folklorist Stith Thompson have been able to make the types of folktale and of the other similar story materials.⁸ Mr. Thompson's monumental works *Motif Index of Folk-Literature*⁹ is a valuable contribution in the study of international folkloristics.

Variation is the crucial test of folklore. We all come from a

7 *Eastern Bengal Ballads*. 4 vols. (Calcutta, 1923-1932)

8 Stith Thompson, Antti Aarne, *The Types of Folktale*. 1st ed. (Helsinki, 1928; 2nd ed. Helsinki., 1961)

9 *Ibid.*, *Motif Index of Folk-Literature*, 6 vols (Helsinki and Bloomington, 1932-1936, 2nd. ed. 1955--58)

historic past and in folklore we can discover the chain and progress of this human civilization.

We have no difficulty in studying English ballads, for innumerable British and American collectors had already collected huge number of variations of an individual ballad. The American scholar Sir Francis J. Child's monumental publications the 5 volumes of *Scottish and English Popular Ballads* with innumerable variations are still serving as the norm of other similar ballads.

Naturally, the question now arises, whether we can use Dr. Sen's edited ballads *Purbabanga Geetika* and *Moimonsingha Geetika* as the norm for the study of Bengali ballads. I think it is possible. If our collectors come forward and collect the different versions of these printed texts from the different ethnic groups, the *Historic* and *Geographic* method of study, as followed by the Helsinki school, may be possible and many important materials of folkloristics may also be unveiled.

Behind every art is a man, behind the man is the race and behind the race is the social and natural environment and these influences are sure to be reflected on folklore. Bengali ballads also give us an idea of the Bengali society in the Middle Ages, its joys and sorrows, laughter and tears.

Bangladesh is the land of rivers—almost all the villages are linked with rivers. Proverb goes that “there is not a single village without a river or a rivulet and a folk-poet or a minstrel”.

The struggle for existence was not as hard in the Middle Ages as it is today and the minstrels and folk-poets had ample opportunity to enjoy nature and pass their care-free-time in composing songs and stories. Moreover, they were always patronized by the local feudal lords.

It was, of course Islam that gave the highest acceleration to the development of Bengali ballads. We know that the Turks conquered Bengal at the very beginning of the 13th century. Muslims brought with them a huge store of Persian

literature and the low-caste Hindus for the first time in their lives had the opportunity to talk and mix with the conquering race. They saw that there was no barrier of caste and creed among Muslims and all men were equal in Islam. In due course, the influence of the Persian romances reached the remotest corner of the country. Gradually the Hindu society also came to know of this and humanism like the south wind blew over the literature of Bengal.

Obviously the later ballad-stories of Bengali literature are devoid of priestly vanity and Sanskritic atmosphere. "The air which we breathe" in these songs is not "the storm that came from the west" nor does it reach the "freezing dullness of the canonic artificiality" of the Brahminism says Prof. D.C. Sen, the compiler of *Eastern Bengal Ballad*. The homes described here are all Bangladeshi, the landscape, the river and rivulets, tanks and fields are all of Bangladesh.

It seems that these stories began to be composed earlier, but unfortunately, we have already mentioned, that they were collected from the oral tradition only by the second decade of the twentieth century. It is quite obvious that these stories like the later French romances underwent a great change. As in European romances the poets here too were patronized by feudal lords but in the later period, probably when the poets lost their patrons in the British period, they became the 'property of the masses rather than of the classes'. They were by the people, for the people, and of the people.

Many stories have been collected up till now. We will try to give an idea of the important branches. These ballads are usually sung in accompaniment with *tabors*, drums, and other folk instruments. Ballad stories are sung by a leader who is called a *gayen* and he has a group of associate singers called *paille* who join in chorus in illustrating the episodes.

1. **Pure Love : Mahua :** This single story can give us an idea of the main characteristics of the Bangladeshi ballad. It was composed by one Dvija Kanai, probably 350 years ago.

The story of Mahua is like a melodrama of seven hundred and fifty lines.

The subject matter of the story is probably true, the places mentioned in the story are in Bangladesh and there is also a huge tank which is reputed to have been dug by Homra, the father of the heroine, Mahua, the gipsy girl.

Homra is a gipsy leader who stole a Brahmin girl of six months. Her beauty is so dazzling that she looks 'like a gem on a snake's hood', 'like a bright star in a dark house'.

One day the gipsy troupe, performing circus and showing feats of skill arrives near the palace of Naderchand, the Prince, the only son of the widowed queen ; the Prince looks upon Mahua and love comes into the heart of the pair, 'as if afraid fully to reveal itself like the faint beams of the young moon, on the ripples of a dark stream...'

After a few days they meet on the river bank where the heroine goes to fetch water in a pitcher. Let us study the situation :

Hero : 'You are so eager in filling your pitcher with water, how beautiful you look in the evening.'

Heroine : 'You are a strange Prince. I feel greatly embarrassed to talk to you.'

Hero : 'You have pushed the pitcher into the water, maiden, and gentle ripples have arisen. How beautiful you look. Smile on me maiden and speak to me ; there is none to see us. Who is your father and who is your mother ?'

Heroine : 'I have no parent, Prince, nor any brother to call my own. I am like a weed in the stream, there is none to whom I can open my heart.'

Hero : 'Hard is your heart. You are allowing your youth to pass in vain.'

Heroine : 'Hard is your heart and hard is the heart of your parents. No bride have they given you though you have become a grown up man.'

Hero : 'None, dear girl, my heart is hard and hard is the heart of my parents, but I assure you, if I could win one like you, I would not remain hard but become a tender husband.'

Heroine : 'You are a shameless youth to say so. Your words are insulting. Get a pitcher and drown yourself in the river.'

Hero : 'Gladly do I take your sentence fair maiden—let you be the river and I will drown myself therein.'

Such are the scenes in the Bengali ballads, not only in the begining but throughout the book, page after page, and chapter after chapter. Their love episodes, however, are discovered by Homra, the leader of the gipsies, and his brother Manika and they resolve to leave the place because they can't part with Mahua, "the star of their party", who is "to be married to his son Sujan", the young player of the party. Before they leave, Naderchand meets Mahua and like Nicolett [Medieval Romance Aucassin and Nicolett] says, "I will leave my perent, my palace and my riches. With you I will go to a distant country." The Gipsy girl weeps and hangs like a creeper on his neck and like Aucassin replies, "Were you a flower my love I would hide you in my bosom. I love you and for love's sake I request you to go back to your palace and leave me. Do not, I pray you, trouble yourself for my sake." Next day the gipsy troupe leaves the town and after a few days the hero leaves his home. He travels the whole country but where is Mahua ? He asks the birds : "Ye birds, you fly in the blue sky—ye see everything from a distance ; and, you tell me where the gipsies have gone."

After a long search in the wood, in the forest, in the cities... Naderchand meets the gipsies and Mahua. Romance continues. Homra gives Mahua a poisoned knife to stab Naderchand with. Mahua steps forward and tries to stab herself when Naderchand snatches it from her hand.

The next scenes are full of romance. They flies from one forest to another. Leaves of the forest are their bed at night, the fruits of the forest are their food. At last they reach a far corner where the forest is deep and dense. The Hero says : "Look there Mahua, how the flowers are laughing, dressed in the purple ; and delicious fruits are hanging from the branches; the sweet

water of the yonder stream is pleasant to the eyes." They spend the night in one another's arms...In the day they wander hand in hand through the lonely forest.

Let us quote a few lines from *Tristan and Iseult*, the famous European Medieval Romance, in the forest of Morois:

..."The summer passed and the winter came; the two lovers lived all hidden in the hollow of a rock with dead leaves but when the open day had come with the spring time they built a hut of green branches under the great trees. Tristan had known to sing the song of the birds in the wood and in reply very many birds would come on the branches of his hut and sing their song full-throated in the new light"...

Coincidence is so happy that one can easily be placed in the frame of the other.

Many sunny days and starry nights pass...till one day they see the dog of the gipsy leader. Mahua embraces Naderchand with tears in her eyes and says, "Today is my last day on this earth—I am not bitten by a snake, but my happiness is at the end. My friend Palanka, the maiden, has by flute signalled me the warning."

Like a falcon they come. The gipsy leader gives the poisoned knife and asks her to kill Naderchand. Let us mark the dramatic situation:

"She looks once to her friend palanka and she looks once at the face of her dear Naderchand". She says, "My husband, dearer than life, bid me farewell"...and then she plunges the knife into her own bosom and dies.

The Gipsies kill Naderchand at the order of the leader. Now the poet describes how the leader, a father—mourns for his child. As in *Tristan and Iseult* the poet here also says: "May all here find strength against inconsistency, against unfairness and despite and loss and pain and all the bitterness of loving..."

A separate version of the story has been collected in which the name of the heroine appears as "*Meoa*" (fruit), decidedly a Muslim name.

Similar are the stories of “Belua,” “Moishal Bandhu,” “Syam Roy”, “Manjur Ma”, “Malua”, “Dewan Bhavna”, “Rupavati”, “Ainabibi”...where either the heroine or the hero suffers for her or his own mistakes or for the conspiracy of some outside agents and the hero ultimately builds a shrine or a mosque.

But Aina is a little bit different. She brings back to life her half-dead husband and is banished to a forest for no fault of herself but for the scandal spread by jealous neighbors, on her character, while she has been roaming in the country for her husband. She realizes that her husband has married again and the couple have a child. Aina thinks for a moment...“No, no... I can’t spoil the peace of a happy family, let them live together...” and she drowns herself in the river, never to come again.

Similar are the stories in English ballads—“Earl Brand”, “Fair Annet and Lord Thomas” and “Lady Maisry”, in the groups (I) Romantic Tragedies and (II) Love and Sentiment. Heroines in the English ballads are too much outspoken. English heroines often use horse. Their horses are usually of ‘white’ colour—if white—‘milk white’—if brown—‘berry brown’—if gray—‘dapple gray.’ Knights are always ‘gallant’, swords are royal and ladies ‘gay’, even in tragic situations. In our Bengali ballads also we can find some typical folk expressions. As for example, houses are always made with ‘gold’—brides are always like a ‘shining moon’—treasure of a lord or a king is ‘limitless’ and a warrior can kill ‘thousands of enemies within a few hours’. The psychology behind such motifs are that probably these poor composers did not see the city and hence are the expressions.

Though ballads are product of more advanced society, in comparison with those of folktales or rhymes, yet the cautious folklorists will discover many other folklore elements in the process of “always grasping and assimilating” stream of ballad tradition. As for example, when we read the very popular Bengali folk-rhyme in Mahua :

“Amar bari jiorey bandu boitey diam pira
 Jal pan karitey dibo shali dhaner chira
 Ghore ase moisher doirey khaio tino bela.”

[Come to my house, my love : I will give you a stool to sit
 I will give you finest fried rice for your tiffin
 I will give sweetest card of buffalo-milk to eat]...

We can never miss to discover that the rhyme is the *terminus antequem* of the ballad and the ballad itself is the *terminus postquem*.

The stories of ‘Kamala’, ‘Munjur Ma’, ‘Kajal Rekha’ and ‘Rupavati’ are nothing but amalgamations of popular folktales and all of them fall in the category of international *Cinderella types* from 500-559 and *motifs* from NO—N 553.

That it is always ‘apt to grasp and assimilate’ new elements on its way, may also be proved from the careful study of proverbs, riddles, superstitions, magics and other folklore elements which have been used in these stories. And, for all these reasons, a ballad investigator, even, must be equally qualified in other branches of folklore as well. A folklorist should always remember that some interoven forces, (1) personal factors and (2) general trends of folk arts are responsible for all these changes and variations and of these, personal or psychological factors, what has been defined by Azadovsky, the noted Russian folklorist, as *personal complex*, is most interesting. (I) Forgetting, (II) contamination, (III) use of cliché to fill up forgotten materials, (IV) desire for more romantic effect, (V) tendency to rationalise unbelievable situation, (VI) use of localism, (VII) invention of new story matter, (VIII) adaptation of words for a modified effect or new tune, (IX) desire for making a story more popular in the instance of any other popular story or song, and with these the linguistical causes of (i) assimilation, (ii) metathesis, (iii) anaptyxis, (iv) haplology, (v) folk-etymology etc. and etc. also work.

2. **Love based on Hindu Ethic : Chandravati ;** : 'Jew's Daughter' and others in the branch of 'Religious Ballads' of English popular collection has interesting similarity with our second variety of story Chandravati and others. The story was composed by one Nayan Chandra Ghosh, probably nearly 300 years ago.

Chandravati is a renowned name in the middle Bengali literature. She was the daughter of Banshi Das, a famous poet and scholar in Sanskrit. Chandravati, his only daughter, was born in the 16th century (nearly 1550A.D.) and she wrote several books. Her village Patuara on the bank of the river 'Fuleswari' and the relics of her old temple, which Chandra dedicated to God are still existing. Chandra, a typical Hindu girl of the old school is spiritual but there is also a tender side of her character; we do not miss for a moment 'a feminine sweetness and tenderness' of her heart. The story is divided into twelve cantos and is complete in 334 lines of verse all in *payer* meters.

The hero and the heroine pass their days plucking flowers and singing songs. The youthful hero writes a letter to the heroine on the petals of a flower to the effect that the smiling garden of flowers becomes dark to his eyes when she departs. Like a girl of an old patriarchal society she writes a short reply : "There is my father in the house—what do I know ? How can I give you a reply ? I am but a helpless girl !" But poet says, "Reaching her chamber, she calls the sun and the moon to bear witness of her feelings and prays to the God to grant Jayananda to her as husband." God grants that. All arrangements, for the marriage ceremony is in full swing...musicians are playing; then like a bolt from the blue the news comes that the hero has married a girl of another society. We see all are lamenting—father mother—relatives and the river Fuleswari. How silent is nature as well as the poet ! The Hindu girl once betrothed cannot marry again. The father says to Chandravati, "Dedicate yourself to *Shiva* [God] and write a *Ramayana* in Bengali."

The following scenes are pathetic, Joyananda realizes his fault and returns to seek her pardon. He prays for an interview only for once. But Chandra is busy worshipping *Shiva*, and her mind has reached a complete tranquility. Joyananda has become almost mad. One day he comes to the holy shrine in which shutting all the doors, Chandra prays to the God and writes the *Ramayana*. He cries, "Chandra, playmate of my childhood, forgive me...forgive me...here ends all—no more will I come to you"...

Her tranquility is broken; she opens the door and reads the last letter written on the door of the shrine. Tears flow from her eyes. Just then she sees Joyananda on the waves of the river Fuleswari and "moon beams seemed to play on the waves."

This has a vivid picture of early Brahminic faith and ethics. But as in other Bengali ballads, the heroine (*Chandravati*) is the main character.

3. Symbolic Love : Kanka and Lila : Dhobar Pat : The third variety is the story of Lila and Kanka composed nearly 300 years ago.

In most Bengali ballads women play the main role and all the other characters appear less prominently. Here, though Lila is the most attractive heroine—the other two characters Garga and Kanka, are of no less prominence.

Like *Chandravati*, noted earlier, the characters are all realistic. Kanka, the hero, later on (mid 16th century) became a well-known poet. Probably the story was written immediately after the tragic incidents.

Lila and Kanka is complete in 1014 lines and is divided into twenty three cantos. The poet begins with the refrain : "Human life is a rare thing; it may be that we may not have human form in our next life".

Kanka is the son of a Brahmin ; when he is a child of six months his father dies and he is adopted by a low-caste Hindu named Murari as no Brahmin is willing to take care of the unlucky child. Unfortunately, the new parent

also dies and Kanka is about to die through starvation when a scholarly Brahmin named Garga takes pity on him and adopts him. Kanka has a gifted memory; at noon he tends the cows of the Brahmin and while at home he receives lessons in Sanskrit from Garga. Garga's daughter Lila is a girl of eight years and two years junior to Kanka. Disaster follows disaster: in a few days time the wife of the Brahmin dies and the two live in the house 'like brother and sister.' If the one weeps the other consoles. Lila never touches her meal until Kanka has eaten; by and by Lila steps into youth. The poet says—"As the flood of a river in August, cannot be kept in check by the banks, so the growing charm of Lila now overflows all her physical bounds. Her beauty is like the moon-beam of October, that penetrates the depth of the river and shows its bottom."

Lila stands gazing at the path-way while he delays and she murmurs, "How cruel you are to make your Lila wait and weep in the house."

If we skip a few chapters, we shall see that there is a conspiracy against them and the father is convinced that they are in love. How can a low-caste Hindu marry a Brahmin's daughter? Garga thinks and thinks—thinks about his prestige, and of his religion and then comes to the conclusion that he will mix poison with the food of Kanka and thus get rid of him; Lila marks this and trembles with fear. As Kanka comes, she tells him, in choked voice, "Flee away Kanka from this place—go where there is no father, no mother, no friend and no habitation of man." Kanka replies, "The sun and the moon and the Gods of heaven all know that I have not done any wrong. Father has been influenced by the false scandal spread by mischievous men". However, the poison in food which is thrown away by Lila, is eaten by *Suravi*, the cow, and the cow dies. Garga becomes half mad and sits for the oracle for several days without any food. He hears from God that Lila and Kanka are faultless and God is displeased with

him for his behaviour with the child. Garga comes to his senses. But where is Kanka ? He has gone away, nobody knows where.

Lila feels the pang of separation and forsakes all food. She addresses the path-way, the sky, the moon and the stars. She addresses the bees : "Tell him, O bees, if you meet him that the malati creepers that he had planted, have borne flowers. Would he not visit his garden to see them ?"

Days, months and years pass on. Lila has been transformed to a skeleton, her beautiful eyes have become pale, the dazzling rainbow of her beauty has hidden behind clouds; then one day the bird flies away from the cage.

Kanka reached on the very moment when her body is just burnt on the funeral-pyre. "Where were you Kanka all the time ?" Garga says "the last word that Lila uttered, was your name—". The poet concludes, "Even the stone melted at his sorrow". To cool their burning hearts, Garga and Kanka left the village never to return. They went to Puri, the holy place of *Baishnavas*.

The story of Dhobar Pat is an interesting example of another amalgamation. It is the same Cinderella (Type-510) where the hero is a prince and heroine is the daughter of a poor washerman. Lastly, as in Lila and Kanka, Bhaishnavism has given here a final touch.

Where did this symbolic ideas come from ?

The critic says that probably when first composed, the story was simply pure love and later on as Lila was the daughter of a Brahmin, a symbolic colour has been thrust upon it and for this, the description of the beauty of Lila is so prominent.

After the Muslim conquest in the 13th century Persian became the court language of Bengal and it continued till the early 19th century. It has been proved that Iranian Sufism and symbolism played an important part on the thought and literature of this country.

According to the Sufi cult *Laila* is the symbol of beauty—God, and *Majnu* is a man—worshipper of God. The same

thing happened in the Middle Bengali literature. The *Baishnavas* like sufis, symbolized *Radha*, the beloved of *Krishna* (God), as the worshipper i.e. the ordinary man, and *Krishna*, her lover, as God. In *Kanka* and *Lila*, this symbolic love of the *Baishnava* cult may be marked.

4. Nuptial Love: Dewana Medina : The story of Dewana Medina sung by Mansur Bayati takes us to another aspect of the Bengali wife, viz., her devotion to and absolute faith in her husband's love and thus it possesses a singularly human interest.

Alal and Dulal are sons of a Dewan (Feudal lord) and their mother dies leaving them infants and when dying she requests her husband not to marry again. Ultimately at the repeated requests by the courtiers he had to marry again and the stepmother after some time become jealous and sends the stepsons with an executioner with the order to kill them at a distant place. Ultimately they are rescued by a merchant, Hiradhar, who takes them to his house. Adventures continue. One day the King of the country comes for hunting and he meets Alal and takes him with him and gives him his daughter in marriage and half the kingdom.

Dulal, the other brother, marries the daughter of a peasant, Medina, who is "as sweet as the flower, as beautiful as the moon." Alal, his brother, meets him after a long time and forces him to divorce the peasant's daughter and take over the charge of Baniachanga, his father's kingdom. Reluctantly Dulal sends the letter of divorce to Medina and she dies due to the unbearable shock. Dulal comes to his senses after a few days and runs to see Medina. As in other stories Dulal builds a house over the tomb and lives like a saint leaving the kingdom. The story is an amalgamation of folktale and romance.

On careful examination and investigation it will be found that actually, three tales of *Cinderella types* have made the main net-work of the story : (1) The story of pigeons is nothing but *Each likes Her Child Best* bearing Type

247; (II) step mother of Alal and Dulal is nothing but *Unkind Step Mother* of type 510 and of *motif* S-31; conquest of Baniachanga will fall under *Victorious Youngest or Other Son* of *motif* L-10. The story of pigeons is the *terminus antequem* of the main story and the main story itself is the *postquem*. Gaining princess and kingdom by Alal are surely fairy tale motifs. So, this is an amalgamated version and according to folklore science an amalgamated version cannot be the critical text of a particular ballad. Probably the critical or genuine text of this ballad was not collected. Moreover, we have been able to collect a version of this story entitled *Medina Sundari* from Sylhet where the central incident is only present.

Keeping aside the question of textual accuracy, we can still say that this version, even, has the finest quality and dramatic excellence of a good story matter.

We can compare *Dewana Medina* with 'Butcher Boy' and 'Fair Annie' of English popular ballads. In 'Butcher Boy' we see the heroine to say :

"In London town where I did dwell
A butcher boy I loved him well.
He courted me for many a day ;
He stole from me my heart away.
... ..
The reason is, I will tell you why,
Because she has got more gold than I.
But gold will melt and silver fly,
And in time of need be as poor as I"...

At the time of her death she requests :

"Go dig my grave both wide and deep,
And on my grave place turtle dove
To show the world that I died for love..."

Let us quote a few lines from "Fair Annie" where her cruel husband is saying while going for a second marriage :

"It is narrow narrow make your bed
And learn to lie your lane,
For I am going over the sea fair Annie
A braw bride to bring hame.

Circumstances are similar. Like Dulal both the heroes become ambitious and forget their dearest at hearts. But Medina is far more appealing. She does not know even how to grumble.

5. Historical Romance or Tragedies : Feroz Khan Dewan, Dewan Isha Khan & Kedar Roy, Suja Tanyar Bilap and Choudhurir Lorai : The 'Last Fierce Charge', 'The Death of Queen Jane' or 'Brave Wolfe' are all remarkable historical ballads in English folklore. Our stories Feroz Khan Dewan, Isha Khan and similar other stories also have close connection with history.

Dewan Isha Khan Masnad-e-Ala and Kedar Roy were people living from the later half of the 16th to the first quarter of the 17th century and Feroz Khan Dewan, the reputed grandson of the Isha Khan, probably flourished in the later half of the 17th century. Of course, there is no mention of Feroz Khan in history.

Let us take the story of Feroz Khan. Feroz Khan, the grandson of reputed hero Isha Khan is the young Prince of Jangalbari and has recruited a huge military army for war against the great Mughal of Delhi. Being the widowed Queen's only son, he is always asked to marry a beautiful princess to be chosen by him. But the hero will first free his kingdom annexed by the Mughals. The match-maker of the imperial family one day brings a profile of a princess who is "dazzling like the sun and beautiful like the moon." She is Princess Sakina, the daughter of Dewan Umar Khan, the old enemy of Jangalbari. Feroz requests his mother for the settlement of his marriage with this bride. How is that possible ! However, the proposal for marriage is carried by the royal Wazir, but the latter is humiliated by Umar Khan, the father of Princess Sakina.

One day the young Prince wears the dress of a saint and goes to the palace of Umar Khan who is ill at that time. Charmed by the princely appearance of the young saint, the

people of the Dewan take him to the palace in the hope that the saint will cure him. The saint prays to Allah and the Dewan recovers. The hero meets the heroine on the bank of the tank and says. "I came here only to see you, sweet Princess ; I keep here on the stonesteps of the tank the tears of my eyes—try to read them, and answer."

Sakina reciprocates and one day she elopes with him on the back of the same horse. War breaks out between the two kingdoms, soldiers come from Delhi to help Umar Khan, the father of Sakina and Feroz Khan is defeated and captured. As the horse of Feroz *Duldul* returns without the master, the people of the palace begin to lament ; Sakina, the wife of the hero, who was trained in warfare, takes in disguise, the place of the commander and with the new force attacks the Mughal power. She almost defeats the enemy when one soldier from the opposite camp raises the banner of peace and shows Feroz Khan's letter of divorce for Sakina, which he was compelled to sign in the prison. She falls from the horse. All the soldiers see, that the commander, who was fighting on the horse's back was not a man but a woman, the dearest Princess of the country. All begin to lament. Like Dulal in Dewana Medina, Feroz Khan builds a mosque on that place and spends the rest of his life as a mendicant. The mosque erected by the Prince is still to be seen in the district of Mymensingh, not far from the place of tragic occurrence.

We can find similar historical story in the romantic tragedy of 'Earl Brand' (The Douglas Tragedy) of Scottish ballad where like Umar Khan the father of Fair Margaret also is not willing to give her daughter's hand to Earl Brand whose father was his 'lifelong enemy'. He says :

"Rise up, rise up, my seven brave sons
And dress in your armour so bright,
Earl Douglas will have lady Margaret away
Before that it be light.

Arise, arise, my seven brave sons,
 And dress in your armour so bright
 It shall never be said that a daughter of mine
 Shall go with an earl or a knight."

The tragic end is almost similar :

"The one was buried in Mary's Kirk
 The other in Mary's Quire,
 The one sprang up a bonny bush
 And other a bonny brier.
 And when they could not further grow
 They coost the lover's knot."

Isha Khan also married the sister of Kedar Roy in manner just observed in Feroz Khan episode. But there was no tragedy. Suja Tanaya and Choudhuryir Lorai are also based on historical legends.

6. Pirates, Badmen and Heroes : Dasyu Kenaram, Nizam Dakat and Kafanchora : 'Tom Dooly', 'Robinhood and the Monk', 'Jhon Henry' and 'Jesse James' are all popular folk heroes in the Western ballads. They are robbers but they help the poor folks ; sometimes, some episodes bring dramatic changes in their lives and ultimately they become folk heroes. The above mentioned Bengali stories have close connection with that of Ratnakar Dasyu in *Ramayana*, which also is based on typical traditional stories. Probably the story found its way in *Ramayana* directly from the oral tradition. It is interesting to see how religious anecdotes (Type 750-849) at last find their way in ballads.

7. Ballad Based on Place-names : Baro-tirtha : in *Purbabanga Geetika*. We have already discussed that place-names are also a prominent branch of folklore. Not only one, but many similar ballads in Bengali may be discovered by careful investigators.

8. Songs of the Forecastle and Lumber Shanti : Hati Khedar Gan : 'Hati Khedar Gan' etc., in our Bengali ballads can be compared with the 'Songs of the Forecastle and Lumber

Shanti' of the popular English ballads. In both the places the ordinary people go for earning their bread—they fight with the adverse natural calamities and compose songs which depicts sometime romantic and sometime tragic episodes of their deserted lives.

9. **Conclusion :** Dr. Stella Kramrisch, the famous European critic, drew our attention to the romantic tales of medieval Europe, Aucassin and Nicolett, and Tristan and Iseult in connection with the Bengali ballad 'Mahua'.

Aucassin, the only son of Count Beaucare, like Nader Chand, is in love with Nicolett, a beautiful girl of unknown parentage, bought of the Saracens, whom his father will not permit him to marry. The story runs towards the same adventure of the lovers and at last they are rewarded. But Nader Chand and Mahua end in tragedy. We have similarity of episodes in the Wood of Morois with Tristan and Iseult. But their love tinged with Western idealism reaches the level of Christian ideal of self dedication. They illustrate Milton's Maxim that "man is born to rule and women to yield to his sway." But the stories of Mahua, Kanka and Lila are absolutely free from any religious binding; they have no sentiment other than that of the human heart in all its purity and strength.

Women are independent and they have always occupied a high place in these ballads.

Women are independent; but that does not mean that they can do whatever they like. Because of their independence, they have on their face the purity and strength of the transparent river—of green nature—which comes to their resources in times of adversities. We find purity and strength in Medina as she dies for her husband; we find them in Sakina as she dies on horse-back, "killed not by a hundred bullets, not by a hundred swords" directed against her for long three days and three nights, but by a cruel letter of divorce. Dying on herseback is a symbol of nuptial love with all its old world charms, a theme of epic

grandeur worthy "to be painted by a Raphael and sung by an Orpheus". She is martyr to that love which is invulnerable against all physical forces, "yet so sensitive and delicate that it cannot for a moment bear the loss of its supreme faith", says D.C. Sen.

Leaving aside even the question of historical accuracy regarding the time and circumstances under which characters of the heroes and heroines are introduced in the ballads, one can easily observe that these heroes and heroines were not bound by the shackles of scriptures of social obligations. Their main concern was love and love alone as expressed in the following lines :

"Love is my treasure,
Love is my care,
Love is my necklace,
He who dies for love
is immortal"

FOLKSONGS

11

There are innumerable varieties of folksongs in the riverine Bangladesh, which are sung by different cultural groups, in different parts of the country.

We can attempt only to discuss here briefly a few varieties which are most popular. These classes can roughly be divided into (a) Work Songs or Occupational Songs : These songs include harvest songs, which are sung at the time of cultivation or harvest; songs of the bullock-cart drivers or palanquin bearers sung at the time of carrying passengers from one place to other; songs sung by labourers when they build the roof of a building, make a road or a bridge ; *sari-gan*, sung by boatmen in the month of monsoon at the time of boat race, etc. (b) Ritual Songs are those

which are connected with various ritual ceremonies, such as invoking rains at the time of continuous draught ; sorcerers' songs for driving a ghost or a disease ; songs in connection with harvest, birth, fertility or marriage taboos and charming or subduing a snake. (c) Ceremonial Songs are those usually sung at the time of some ceremony, such as birth, marriage, festivals etc. (d) Regional Songs are those which are usually sung in a particular region, e.g., *Al-Kaaf* (North-Bengal) ; *Bhatiali* (riverine eastern part) ; *Bhauiia* (North Bengal) ; *Ghambhira* (North Bengal) ; *Gajir Gan* (North Bengal) ; *Haboo* (Dacca) ; etc. (e) Historical Songs are those which relate the achievements of some historical figures, their patriotism and chivalry. (f) Heroic Songs, again, are those, such as *puthir gan*, where the romances or tragedies of some heroes or heroines are sung. (g) Mystic Songs : include those of *bauls*, *marfati*, *murshidi*, *dehatatma*, etc., where the pangs of human soul are depicted in deep ecstasy and devotion. (h) *Jari* and (i) *Kavi* on the otherhand are most popular types, having both ritual and entertainment aspects. *Jari* contains the tragic events of the battle of Karvela between Yazid and prophet's grandson Imam Hussain and is usually sung in the month of *Muharram*. But there are other kind of *jaris* also which are sung in the villages of Bangladesh, just for entertainment's sake throughout the year. Two rival singers, through the exchange of various challenging questions, both social and religious, and also ready wits, keep the audience spell bound. *Kavi*, bases mostly Hindu myths and legends, and is also sung by two rival singers, usually at the time of Hindu festivals. Like *jari*, mentioned above, *kavi*, may also be sung all through the year for pure entertainment. Both *kavi* and *jari* sometimes go beyond the limit of their particular subject and in the course of singing introduce modern topics or amusing national or local events causing pure entertainments. Sometimes, when rival singers indulge in personal attacks, through exchange of sharp wits, the audiences burst into loud laughter.

This song, through many variants, comes from California in the gold-rush days of 1849 or earlier, when many easterners left their comfortable homes, caught by the fever to dig for gold and went West. We have almost a similar counterpart from Rangpur, collected by Sir George Grierson and current about the same time period (*More ai-la katha am parechhe, ge, ago abo chhay mas bharia nadari maria*) prohibited and explained later.

'Shenandoah', again, collected from the Middle West of America during the time of exploration of those parts refers to the old Mizzoo, or the Missouri river and to the traders coming by boat along the rivers (date perhaps 1700's).

2. River Song : Shenandoah :

Oh, Shenandoah, I long to hear you,
Away, you rolling river.
Oh, Shenandoah, I long to hear you
Away, we're bound away, across the wide Missouri.

The white man loved an Indian maiden,
Away, you rolling river
With motions his canoe was laden
Away, we're bound away,
'Cross the wide Missouri.

Oh, Shenandoah, I love your daughter
Away, you rolling river
I'll take her 'cross the rolling water
Away, we're bound away,
'Cross the wide Missouri.

Oh, Shenandoah, I'm bound to leave you,
 Away, you rolling river
 Oh, Shenandoah, I'll not deceive you
 Away, we're bound away,
 'Cross the wide Missouri.

This song may remind us our popular folksong *Nadir kul nai kinara naire* (The river has got no bank, no end).

'I Know my Love' was current from the English colonial period, sung in the eastern portion of the United States, and was borrowed from the Britishers. The verse about the girl who worries that her man is at the dance-hall with another woman is echoed in many American and British songs :

3. Love Song : I Know My Love :

I know my love by his way o' walkin'
 and I know my love by his way o' talkin',
 and I know my love in a suit of blue
 and if my love leaves me, what till I do,
 and still she cried, I love him the best.
 and a troubled mind can know no rest.
 and still she cried bonny boys are few,
 and if my love leaves me, what will I do.

There's a dance house in our town
 and there my true love does sit down
 He takes a strange one upon his knee
 and don't think now that vexes me.
 If my love knew I could wash and wring
 If my love knew I could weave and spin
 I'd make a coat of all the finest kind
 but the want of money leaves me behind.

More sona chariya jai (My golden love is going away) may resemble the same pain and sorrows.

'I've Been Workin' on the Railroad' is one of the most traditional American songs and every school child can sing it.

Probably written during the 1700's and 1800's when America was moving toward the West, and railroads were being built. Now it has no locality as such, but belongs to all of America.

4. Railroad Song :

I've been workin' on the railroad, all the livelong day
 I've been workin' on the railroad, just to pass the time away,
 Don'tcha hear the whistle blowin', rise up so early in the
 morn,

Don't cha hear the captain shoutin', "Dinah, blow your
 horn."

Dinah, won'tcha blow, Dinah, won'tcha blow, Dinah won'tcha
 blow your horn,

Dinah, won'tcha blow, Dinah, won'tcha blow, Dinah won'tch
 blow your horn..

Someone's in the kitchen with Dinah, someone's in the
 kitchen I know,

Someone's in the kitchen with Dinah, strummin' on the
 old banjo..

Fee, fie, fiddle-e-i-o, fee fie fiddle-e-i-o-o-o—

Fee, fie, fiddle-e-i-o... strumin' on the old banjo...

Will not this song remind one of our *Oki garial bhai* (Oh, my brother bullock-cart driver) which is now so popular and known all over Bangladesh.

"Swing Low, Sweet Chariot" is a song from the plantations of the South. It is certainly an example of most indigenous type of music, the Negro Spiritual, probably written during the 1700's, and sung by everybody. It tells of the yearning of the poor man on earth to escape his life of toil and take sweet chariot to its destination. ;

5. Swing Low Sweet Chariot :

Swing low, sweet chariot
 Comin' for to carry me home ;
 Swing low sweet chariot,
 Comin' for to carry me home ;

I looked over Jordan and what did I see
 Comin' for to carry me home ;
 A band of Angels comin' after me
 Comin' for to carry me home ;

...

I am sometimes up and sometimes down,
 But still my soul feels heaven-bound.

O dhew khelere—jhilmil sayare dhew khele (Waves are playing over the dazzling sea...), is again, its another counterpart, where, human heart, irrespective of caste and creed and colour bleed in the same manner all over the world.

GENUINENESS OF OUR FOLKSONGS

IV

As concrete examples of the genuineness of our folk-songs, we would cite here only three of Grierson's songs collected about 1873-1877, most popular in the oral tradition along with their variants collected later by Abbas Uddin (Nos. 1B and 2B) and Nayeb Ali Tepu (No. 3) and recorded by the 40's of this century. The readers may observe the interesting variations that occurred during the past one hundred years. Late Mr. Abbas Uddin told me in 1959 that these songs along with local variants were current in the oral tradition for nearly 200 years, if not more. It is quite possible that some of these songs were shortened or some paras were dropped to accommodate in commercial gramophone records. As regards genuineness we can say that the Rajbanshi dialect of Rangpur and Cooch Bihar with its characteristics of *ai-la* for *ai-gula* (those); *i-ea* for *aie-gula* (these); *maok* for *make* (to mother); *bapak* for *bapke* (to father); *mui* for *ami* (me); *kay* for *ke* (who); *karo* (I do—as finite verb—present tense); *karicho* (I have done—as perfect tense) and *karim* (I shall do—in future tense) etc. have been

retained in these songs. Versions B of Nos. 1 and 2 will clearly show that if a song is popular, it does not usually deteriorate rather it elevates in the oral tradition. As regards song No. 3, Mr. Mustafa Zaman Abbasi, a scholar and folk-singer, has informed me that the recorded version by Nayeab Ali Tepu, except some minor changes, more or less remains the same. If more variants of these songs could be collected, it would have been possible to frame the *historic-geographic* chain with hypothesis about probable *critical text*.

Version 1 (A)

- Partham jaubaner kale na hail mor biya, (1)
 Ar katakal rahim ghare ekakini haya, (2)
 Re bidhi nidaya. (3)
 Haila pail mor sonar jauban, maleyar jhare. (4)
 Mao-bape mor hail badi na dil parer ghare. (5)
 Re bidhi nidaya. (6)
 Bapak na kao sarame, mui maok na kao laje (7)
 Dhiki-dhiki tushir aghun jalchhe dehar majhe (8)
 Re bidhi nidaya. (9)
 Pet phate tao mukh na phate laj-saramer dare, (10)
 Khuliya koile maner katha ninda kare pare. (11)
 Re bidhi nidaya. (12)
 Eman mon mor kare, re bidhi, eman mon mor kare. (13)
 Moner mata chengra dekhi dhariya palao dure, (14)
 Re bidhi nidaya. (15)
 Kahe kabe kalankini ? Hani naika more tate, (16)
 Moner sadhe karim keli pati niya sathe. (17)
 Re bidhi nidaya. (18)

(Translation)

- At dawning youth I was not by Hymen favoured, (1)
 How long still am I to remain single at home, (2)
 O fate marble-hearted : (3)

- The full-blown flower of my golden youth yields to
 Malaya's softest breeze, (4)
 My parents have become my foes in not sending me
 to another's home in ties hymeneal, (5)
 O fate marble-hearted : (6)
 My heart I cannot open to my father for shame, my
 mother I cannot press by maidenly modesty bound, (7)
 Slowly is love consuming my frame as fire within
 chaff, (8)
 O fate marble-hearted : (9)
 Even though my soul give way to pressing love within,
 my lips never open for fear of shame, (10)
 If I give out the feelings of my heart, the folk would
 blame me, (11)
 O fate marble-hearted : (12)
 Such mind is mine, Oh Lord, such mind is mine, (13)
 A youth to my heart would I find; with him would
 I fly to a distant clime, (14)
 O fate marble-hearted : (15)
 Stain who will my name, aught do I not care. (16)
 To the fill of my heart will I enjoy the time in my
 love's sweet company, (17)
 O fate marble-hearted. (18)

[*Linguistic Survey*, Vol. V, pp. 185-187]

1 (B)

- Bidhi mor nidayare (1)
 Bapaka nai kao sarame mui maoka nai kao laje, (2)
 Dhiki Dhiki tusher Agun jale dehar majhe. (3)
 Bidhi nidayare. (4)
 Book fate tao mukh na fote laj saramer bhore, (5)
 Khulia kaile moner katha ninda sagai kore. (6)
 Bidhi nidayare. (7)
 Eman mon mor karere bidhi eman mon mor koy (8)

- Saina sonar dhanak paile noike koron hoy (9)
 Bidhi nidayare. (10)
 Kai koi kok kalankini khati nai mor tate (11)
 Mono sadhe karim khela sonar dhaner sathe (12)
 Bidhi nidayare. (13)

(Translation)

- O fate marble-hearted : (1)
 My heart I can not open to my father, my mother
 I can not express by maidenly modesty bound, (2)
 Slowly is love consuming my frame as fire within chaffe. (3)
 O fate marble-hearted : (4)
 Even though my soul give way to pressing love within, my
 lips never open for fear of shame, (5)
 If I give out the feelings of my heart, the folk would
 blame me. (6)
 O fate marble-hearted : (7)
 Such mind is mine, Oh Lord, such my mind says (8)
 A [golden] youth to my heart would I find; I will make all
 impossibilities a possibility. (9)
 O fate marble-hearted : (10)
 Stain who will my name, aught do I not care (11)
 To the fill of my heart will I enjoy the time in my [golden]
 love's sweet company. (12)
 O fate marble hearted : (13)

Version 2 (A)

- Mor ai-la katha pham parechhe, ge, age abo (1)
 chhay mas bhariya nadari mariya, (2)
 Maiya-ta mariya mui hanu pagela, dine-dine kande chho (3)
 mui dahalat basiya, ge abo, ghar-bari chhariya. (4)
 Kay ar khilabe mok andhiya bariya, kay ar dakabe, (5)
 mor bagalat asiya, ki 'kaira-kaira' kariya ? (6)

- Kay dibe mok oge abo bichhin pariya, kay ar (7)
 hakabe pakha bagalat, basiya, ki keret-kurut kariya ? (8)
 Jarerdine achhi mui eklay thakiya, kay ar thakibe (9)
 mok bagalat dhariya, seja garam kariya ? (10)
 Girasti chhariya, abo, mui haichhu baudhiya, (11)
 yetti-setti beracho mui dhuliya-pariya, ge, abo,
 nadari mariya. (12)
 Maiyar bade mor dehata Jachheto jaliya, paris yadi, ekta (13)
 mok tui ari de aniya ge abo, daya kariya. (14)

(Translation)

All those past things are coming to my mind for full six months, O my grandmother, my wife being dead. (1-2)

My wife being dead I became mad, and day after day have I wept sitting in the low-lands, O grandmother, leaving my home. (3-4)

Who will now cook my meals and feed me, who will call me, coming to my side and addressing me as 'kaira' ? (5-6)

Who will now, O my grandmother, spread the bed for me, who will fan me, as she sits beside me, making the sweet sound of 'keret kurut' ? (7-8)

In wintry nights am I alone lying on my bed. Who will now make me lie down me, beside her, making the bed warm (with her body) ? (9-10)

Leaving my household duties, O my grandmother, I have become like a bereaved lover. Hither and thither am I roaming, reeling and tossing, O grandmother, my wife being dead. (11-12)

My whole frame is aflame for my wife. Bring me a widow (for me to marry, if thou canst, O grandmother, taking pity on me). (13-14)

2 (B)

- (Abo) naudarita moriya morse hoise hani (1)
 Andar ghere pari thakong pore chaukher pani. (2)
 Abo tappas ki tuppas karia. (3)
 (Abo) Sagai berai tari tari lal shari pindia, (4)
 Tola ashe Dhakai shari kai jaibe pindia (5)
 oki khashore ki moshore karia. (6)
 (Abo) As parishu naior jai dokole juria, (7)
 More naudari thakil hoi—lal shari khan pindhil hoi, (8)
 pasot gail hoi chalalat ki chalalat karia. (9)
 (Abo) asilo je goram kal sua nidra jao, (10)
 More noadari thankil hoi bagalete bosil hoi (11)
 Gao hakail hoi karrat ki korrot karia. (12)
 Asilo je barshakal mas mari aninu, (13)
 Mor naudari thakil hoi bogalete bosil hoi (14)
 Mas kutil hoil ghachote ki ghochote karia. (15)
 (Abo) naodari moria mor morse hoise dukh, (16)
 Nadir kacharer moto bhangia pare book, (17)
 (Abo) hiririm ki hararam karia— (18)
 Oki diririm ki dararam karia. (19)

(Translation)

- O my grandmother, my wife being dead (has caused a loss) (1)
 I sleep in a dark room, tears roll down my face, (2)
 making a sound *tappas and tuppas*. (3)
 O my grandmother, every body (lady) wears a red *sari*
 and roam hither and thither, (4)
 The Dhakai 'Sari' (of my wife) has been kept intact (but)
 who will wear that making a (5)
 sound of *khoshore* and *moshore*. (6)
 O my grandmother, neighbouring (ladies) go to their relations
 (by boat) covering two banks of river, (7)
 If my wife were alive, she would have weared the red *sari* (8)
 and gone afterwards making a sound of *chalalat* and *chalalat*. (9)

- O my grandmother, the hot season (summer) has come and I am
alone sleeping on my bed, (10)
- If my wife were alive she would have sit beside me (11)
- and move the fan making a sound of *Karrot* and *Korrut*. (12)
- The rainy season has come and I brought fish after fishing (13)
- If my wife were alive she would have sit beside me and (14)
- cut fish making a sound of *ghachote* and *ghochote*. (15)
- O grandmother, my wife being dead (has caused a loss) (16)
- My heart rends like the bank of a river, (17)
- O grand mother, making a sound of *hiririm* and *hararam* (18)
- making a sound of *diririm* and *dararam*. (19)

Version 3

- Pran sadhu re, (1)
- Jadi jan, sadhu, parabas, (2)
- Na karen, sadhu, parar as, (3)
- Apan hate, sadhu, adhiya khan bhato, re. (4)
- Pran sadhu re, (5)
- Kochar kari, sadhu, na karen bay, (6)
- Parar nari, sadhu, apan noyay, re, (7)
- (O) Para nari, sadhu, badhibe parano, re. (8)
- Pran sadhu re,
- Je diya, sadhu, taranga dhar, (10)
- Sei diya, sadhu, baluchar, re, (11)
- (O) Gohin dhare, sadhu, baya den nao, re. (12)
- Pran sadhu re, (13)
- Pubeya pachchiya bao, (14)
- Ghopa chaya, sadhu, nagan nao, (15)
- (O) Dari-majhi, sadhu, akhen sabdhan, re. (16)
- Pran sadhu re, (17)
- Je diya, sadhu, sauder gola, (18)
- Sei diya sadhu, chhaden gola, re, (19)
- (O) Bechi-kini, sadhu, karen sabadhane, re. (20)
- Pran sadhu re, (21)

Tor achhe, sadhu, bapo bhai, (22)

Mor abhaginir sadhu, keo nai, re. (23)

(O) Kon dale, sadhu, dhairbe narir bhara, re. (24)

[Survey, V, pp. 192-194]

O dear merchant, (1)

If you-go, merchant, away from home, (2)

Not do, merchant, other's hope, (3)

O merchant, you eat rice, after cooking with your own
hand. (4)

O dear merchant, (5)

Do not spend money, merchant, kept in the corner of
your loincloth, (6)

O merchant, other's wife, is not your own one, (7)

O merchant, other's wife, will kill your soul. (8)

O dear merchant, (9)

In what direction, merchant, is the wave-force, (10)

In that direction, O merchant, is the sand-bank, (11)

O Merchant, carry your boat towards deep current. (12)

O dear merchant (13)

There are Easterly and Westerly wind, (14)

Merchant, moor your boat in a nook shelter, (15)

O merchant, keep your rower and helmsman careful, (16)

O dear merchant, (17)

In what direction, merchant, are gathering of
merchandise. (18)

In that direction, O merchant, construct a
storehouse, (19)

O merchant, do your selling and buying carefully. (20)

O dear merchant, (21)

Merchant, you have your father and brother, (22)

O merchant, me poor soul have not anyone, (23)

O, merchant, what branch, will support your wife's
weight. (24)

ELECTION LITERATURE

Is there any kind of oral art which might be defined as Election Literature ? Yes, there is and there are.

Recently I was going through a volume of *JAF* (*Journal of American Folklore*, 1963) where I found some Election Rhymes mainly collected during the period of election campaign of Late J. F. Kennedy, former President of U.S.A. During my stay there, I also heard some—one of which runs thus :

Long Long may their ladies sit
With their fans into their hand
Over there they see Sir Kennedy comes
Come sailing to the land.

The rhyme-maker hopes that President Kennedy will ultimately come 'sailing' i.e., he will come to the White House. And, ultimately, fulfilling the wish of the rhyme-maker, he came.

Folksongs and rhymes were current in America with the name of George Washington, the former President of the United States, where he is said to have taunted his opponent as *Derby Ram*.

The song runs thus :

As I was going to Derby, Sir,
Upon a market day,

I saw the biggest ram, Sir,
That ever was fed with hay...
That ever was fed with hay...

The ram was fat behind, Sir,
The ram was fat before,
He measured ten yard round, Sir,
I think it was no more.

... ..

The wool grew on his back, Sir,
 And reached to the ground,
 It was sold in Derby Town, Sir,
 For forty thousand pound.
 The wool upon his tail, Sir,
 Filled more than fifty bags,
 You had better keep away, Sir,
 When that tail shakes and wages.

[Rosa S. Allen, *Allen Family Songs*, Mass., 1899]

It is needless to explain that Washington's opponent, whose forefather came from Ireland (Derby), is the target of this taunts and ridicules. In the 40's of this century we heard many similar rhymes hurled by Late A.K. Fazlul Haq, e. g., "Koto khelai janore jadu koto khelai jano. majh dariai jal felia dangai boisa tano." A few years back while I was sitting before a T.V. a little boy recited the following interesting rhyme :

Elish maser tirish kata,

Boal maser dari,

Hikka Miah viksha kare

Bangladesher bari.

A *hilsa* fish has thirty bone

And a *boal* fish has a beard

Hikka Miah comes to beg

To Bangladesh's yard.

In some rhymes it is 'Yahia,' instead of 'Hikka.' In some rhyme Hikka "Miah" has been addressed as a 'sweet brother' i.e., the brother of a wife. Are these only rhymes to cheer the people? No, these are psychological expressions of the mass who really wanted that the ruling class should come to their senses. There is a thing also which is called 'folk-hatred' in folkloristics where the degree of barometer of folk-anger can be read. What student of folklore does not know that even in Russia, the militant mass did not ridicule Tsar and his administration in hundreds of folk-rhymes or *chatuskas*, such as :

Without a Tsar, without a sovereign
We shall live in freedom...

... ..

The rifles sounded tuk-tuk
The machineguns spoke trata-ta,
And the whites run away...

... ..

The warriors are coming from the
four corners of the land,
The workmen have come thousand and thousand,
The landless have come thousand of thousands...

... ..

You have opened to us all the doors of the world,
Great Lenin, the giant of the ages...

[Sokolov, *Russian Folklore*, pp. 690-743]

Similar election slogans (1970 and '73) might be seen on the walls or heard anywhere in Bangladesh, some of which run as follows :

Thomar amar thikana !
Padma meghna jamuna !!
Naoka chale bhasia !
Vote diben hasia !!
Saikele pump nai !
Naoka dia hate jai !!
Harikene tel nai !
Naoka chara goti nai !!
Chinta koria dekhlam bhai !
Naoka chara upai nai !!
Naoka chale tik tik !
Vote diben thik thik !! etc.

There were, of course, other rhymes also, e. g.,

Ja kare Allai !
Vote diben pallai !!
Ek dil ek League !
Muslim League ! Muslim League !!

Langale mangal !
Vote diben langal !!
Harikener batti !
Vote diben satti !!
Chinta koira dekhon bhai !
Saikel chara gati nai !!

It is needless to say that exhibited rhymes were from Jamat-i-Islam, Muslim League and many other political parties, mostly circulated in 1971.

The elections were over. But still there were rhymes, some of which ran like this :

Ai matra khabar elo
Amar nauka jita gelo.

Does this remind one of the popular boat-race rhymes on the hundreds of rivers or rivulets of Bangladesh in the month of *Ashar* or *Sravana* where the leaders of nauka-majhi chant :

Naoka-baich sango hoilo !
Amar nauka jita gelo !!

(My boat race ended thus !

And my boat became victorious) !!

In 1973 Election, again, we heard many interesting rhymes, with direct attacks hurled towards the ruling party or parties.

Let us quote here a para from *Russian Folklore*, mentioned above, where hundreds of these rhymes have been collected and preserved.

...The development of the *chatuskas* (folk-rhymes) represents a most interesting process, with complex meanderings and intertwinings, reflecting with great fullness and diversity both the historical life with its social conflicts and the dialects of class conflict. The popular rhyme is a striking example of the poetic primitive, going back in its construction and psychological essence almost to the primitive archaic times; and at the same time, it is frequently an expression of new ideas and attitudes among the masses of the people.

About the antiquity of rhymes he says :

...The popular rhyme, like many other genres of folklore, is at the same time both a memorial of the remote past and the loud voice of contemporary times.

About the longevity of rhymes he remarks :

...As we shall see, there are many popular rhymes which cannot be definitely assigned to any specific moment in history. The very same popular rhyme may have been in existence for decades, each time adopting itself, now to one and now to another manifestation of actual life, and being subjected sometimes to slight, sometimes to very extensive changes. That is why it is of such interest to watch the changing of the variants, the movement of the variable readings in the text.

Lastly, he adds :

...Folklore apart from continuous variations is unthinkable. The capacity for variation, as we have seen many time, is one of the characteristic features of its creative nature. In the popular rhymes, as in other genres of folklore, the creation of words is by no means expressed each time in the creation of absolutely new text, but very often only is a change in the form of a previously existing production. There are tens and hundreds of thousands of popular rhymes—this would mean that there are at least thousands of variations.

[*Russian Folklore*, pp. 530-531]

Shall we not collect these rhymes irrespective of parties and opinions before these are lost or forgotten? Shall these not help a historian or a sociologist to construct the complete history of Revolution in Bangladesh?

BIBLIOGRAPHY
and
SURVEY

Surveys and bibliographical references of Indo-Bangladeshi folklore have been made by Norman Brown ("The Panchatantra in Modern Indian Folklore", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1919 ; pp. 423-430); Verrier Elwin (*Folk Tales of Mahakoshal*, London, 1944 ; *Folksongs of Chhattishgarh*, London, 1946 ; and *Myths of Middle India*, London, 1949); Laurits Bodker (*Indian Animal Tales*, Helsinki, 1957) ; Stith Thompson, and Jonas Balys (*Oral Tales of India*, Bloomington, 1958) ; Thompson and Warren E. Roberts (*Types of Indic Oral Tales*, Helsinki, 1960) ; Edwin C. Kirkland ("A Projected Bibliography of the Folklore of India" in *Folklore Reserach Around the World*, Richard M. Dorson, ed., Bloomington, 1961 ; pp. 127-132 ; "A Report on a Bibliography of South Asian Folklore", *Asian Folklore Studies*, XXIII-2 ; 1964 ; 200-207) ; Professor Kirkland's extensive bibliographical work : *A Bibliography of South Asian Folklore* has appeared as No. 21 in the Indiana University Folklore Series. This edition will be extremely useful for scholars interested in Indo-Bengali folklore ; Sankar Sen Gupta (*A Survey of Folklore Study in Bengal : West Bengal and East Pakistan*, Calcutta, 1967) ; Sankar Sen Gupta and Shyam Parmar (*A Bibliography of Indian Folklore and Related Subjects*, Calcutta, 1967) ; H. C. Prasad & Gita Sen Gupta (*A Bibliography of Folklore of Bihar*, Calcutta, 1972), etc. For further details one can see Sankar Sen Gupta's "Saratchandra Ray's, Approach to Anthro-po-folklorology and the Progress of Folklore Scholarship in Bengal," *Human Events*, (Calcutta, August-December, 1972), pp. 108-150.

An enormous amount of Bengali materials have been included or referred to in these works. *Oral Tales of India* and *Types of Indic Oral Tales*, mentioned above, mainly deal with the motifs and types of Indian folktales including those of Bengal. Brown, Elwin, Kirkland and Sen Gupta supply excellent bibliographies of tales, songs, and other

traditional materials. All these compilers limit themselves for the most part to the materials published in English or other European languages. But a great deal of material have also been published in Bengali, materials, which deserves to be better known. A new survey, therefore, is necessary which will deal with all genres of traditional Bengali materials collected and studied by European, American, and native scholars. Such a survey will examine the historical and chronological development of folklore scholarship in Bengal with special reference to the methods of field research. The basic principle in the analysis of collections should also involve consideration of such matters as information about the collection and informants, notes on story-telling or singing, inclusion and completeness of footnotes and annotation, classification of contents ; indexing ; bibliographies and other scholarly apparatus. General studies, other than collections, made by the various scholars should be discussed critically and their achievements and failures should be noted.

Since such study will cover a large area and an extensive time period, it may not be possible for a writer to include each and every article or book published during the period. All possible care, however, should be taken to include the important works so that a chronological survey is made possible both for the Western and native scholars. It will be expected that similar studies will be undertaken by future scholars covering other States of this sub-continent. Such studies will furnish a complete picture of the folklore scholarship of the sub-continent, an area, hitherto insufficiently known to foreigners and even to the local scholars. In order to show the systematic development of folklore scholarship, I would like to divide the survey into the following time periods :

1. Historical Background :

- (a) Historical and Folkloristic Background of Bengal—
British Rule in India—Impact of British Rule—

Contribution of Civil Servants to the Education and General Progress of the Country.

- (b) The Contribution of Missionaries to the Education, Art and Literature of the country—Impact of Western Education on the New Generation.
- (c) Growth of Nationalism in Bengal—Nationalist Movement—Patronage of National Culture, Art, Literature and Folklore.

II. Collections and Studies of Bengali Folklore by British Civil Servants, European Missionaries, and Native Scholars :

- (a) Formative Phase, 1784-1857 ; 1858-1878 :

It was in 1784 when Sir William Jones, a Judge of the Old Supreme Court at Fort William, Calcutta, founded Asiatic Society of Bengal. This period of chaos and confusion continued until the Sepoy Revolution in 1857, when in 1858, under the new Act, the Crown finally assumed the responsibility of administration, and now, both governmental officers and European missionaries tried to understand the structure of Indian society sympathetically and accurately. The establishment of Folk-Lore Society in London in 1878 is a turning point in the history of folklore scholarship in India.

“In the glorious century of the Pax Britannica, Englishmen travelled, taught, preached, and administered all over the globe. From some of these missionaries travellers and colonial officers resident in Asia and Africa and browsing in Europe came important collections of folk traditions directly stimulated by the interest and theories in the subject at home...Government officials and missionaries believed that a familiarity with native folklore would immeasurably aid their work” [Richard M. Dorson, “Folklore Studies in England”, *JAF. LXXIV* (1961) p. 309 ; also in *Folklore Research Around the World : A North American Point of View*, Indiana University Folklore Series No. 16 ; Richard M. Dorson ed. (1961), p. 23. For details of the English

folklorists of this period one can see Richard M. Dorson's "The Great Team of English Folklorists," *JAF*, LXIV (1951), pp. 1-10; "The First Group of British Folklorists", *ibid.*, LXVIII, (1955), pp. 1-8; 333-340; "The Eclipse of Solar Mythology" *ibid.*, pp. 393-416; and also *Myth: A Symposium*, Thomas A. Sebeok ed. (1955), pp. 15-38].

Translations of mythological works, travellers' accounts, ethnological investigations under government initiative, and folklore collections of an amateur nature, made up the main works dealing with folklore during the period.

III. The Beginning of Scientific Scholarship : 1879-1890 : 1891-1919 :

Folklore scholarship in England during this period was much influenced by the English survivalist school headed by Tylor, Frazer, Gomme, Lang, Hartland, Burne and others. The impact of English folklorists and anthropologists was observed in the writings of English civil servants and missionaries residing in India. These scholars inspired a generation of native scholars. On the other hand, the growing nationalist movement in India found in the Benfey and Max Muller theory, which posted India as the fountainhead of European tales and myths, an argument to bolster their claim for India's glorious heritage. As a result, the prominent native folklorists drew their ideas both from the survivalists and Indianists.

IV. The Period 1920-1947 :

The third decade of the present century was a turbulent period in the drive for independence in India. With the launching of the Non-Cooperation Movement by Mahatma Gandhi the whole of India seethed with political ferment and agitation. The careful translation and full annotations of the ancient Indian epics and tales such as the *Jatakas*, the *Katha Sarit Sagara*, the *Panchatantra*, the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and others by prominent European and

American scholars not only gave an impetus to the growing nationalists' feeling but also to the folklore movement in India. The native scholars now became more careful in explaining and annotating their materials. In addition, the influence of the Folk-Lore Society in London on the one hand and the new science of cultural anthropology on the other helped to sharpen the scientific methodology of native folklorists.

V. Folklore Scholarship After 1947 :

By 1947 all branches of Bengali folklore had received attention and the way was prepared for the maturing of scientific folklore scholarship in Bengal. In preparing this bibliography, the books, magazines or journals have been mentioned first without *italics* and then the names of authors with dates and places of publications have been placed under the bracket. For more than one entry author's name has not been repeated. Abbreviations are appended.

Formative Phase : (1784-1857) :

(1) Consolidation of British power in India and establishment of Asiatic Society of Bengal by Jones and his colleagues at Calcutta (1784) —publication of Asiatic Research and Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (2) Activities of various Missionaries, specially, Serampore Missionary led by William Carey, establishment of Fort William College (1800)—Urge for publication of books both for learning Bengali and also for propagation of Christianity—(3) Casual ethnographic information regarding customs and manners—(4) Translations of folktales, fables, Ramayana, Mahabharata, Hitopadesha religious books etc.—(5) Travellers' account and (6) Casual folklore collections :

Hitopadesh ; Fables and Proverbs from the Sanskrit being the Hitopadesh (Charles Wilkins ; London, 1877) ; Folklore books mostly translated by Serampore Mission e.g., Protapaditya Charit (Ram Ram Basu ; Serampore, 1801) ; Batrish

Sinhasana ; Stories of Tal and Betal (Serampore ; 1802) ; Hitopadesh (Goloknath Sarma ; Serampore, 1802) ; Aesop's Fables (tr. Tarini Charan Mitra ; Serampore, 1803) ; Tota Itihas (Chandi Charan Munshi ; Serampore, 1805) ; Hitopadesh (Ram Kishore Tarka Chudamani ; Serampore, 1808) ; Hitopodesh (Mirityunjoy Vidyalkar ; Serampore, 1808) ; Probodh Chandrika (Serampore ; 1813) ; Ramayana of Valmeeki, 3 Vols. (William Carey ; Serampore ; 1805-1810) ; Purush Pariksha ; a collection of fifty stories from Vidyapati (Haraprosad Roy ; Serampore, 1815) ; Hitopodesh Fables (Baboo Ram Coomal Sen ; Calcutta, 1820) ; others : "Trial by Ordeal Among the Hindus" (Ali Ebrahim Khan ; Asiatic Research ; London, Vol.1, 1798) ; The Costumes of Hindustan (Solvyns Balt ; London, 1804) French ed. 4 Vols. Paris, 1808-1812) ; Bakya-balee or Idiometical Exercises (J.D. Pearson ; Calcutta, 1829) ; Stories from Tota-Itihas ; Batris Sinhasana ; Probodh Chandrika in his Introduction to Bengali Language, Vol. II (William Yeats ; Calcutta, 1840) ; Hitopodesh (Calcutta ; 1840) ; etc.

Hindu Music from Various Authors, 2 parts (Sir William Jones, Calcutta, 1832) ; A Collection of Proverbs, Bengali and Sanskrit with their Translation and Application in English (Reverend William Morton ; Calcutta, 1832) ; Observations on the Mussalmans of India, 2 vols. (Meer Hasan ; London, 1832) ; Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India from Calcutta to Bombay, 1824-1825 ; 2 Vols. (Right Rev. Reginald Heber ; Philadelphia, 1828) ; The Oriental Annual, 2 Vols. (Thomas Bacon ; London, 1840) ; Bengali Proverbs (Rev. James Long ; Calcutta, 1851) ; India and its Inhabitants (Caleb Wright ; Cincinnati, 1856) ; Historic Incidents and life in India (Caleb Wright and J.A. Brainerd ; Chicago, 1863) ; etc.

Advanced Scholarship : (1858-1878) :

(1) Ethnographic Surveys regarding the life, religion and customs of the people (2) Proverbs (3) Tales (4) Songs (5) Place-names (6) Legends, etc.

Domestic life, Character, and Custom of the Natives of India (James Carr, M.A. ; London, 1868) ; Annals of Rural Bengal (William Wilson Hunter ; London, 1868) ; The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and Dwellers Therein (Captain Thomas Herbert Lewin ; Calcutta, 1869.) ; The Wild Races of South-Eastern India (London, 1870) ; Hill Proverbs of the Inhabitants of Chittagong Hill Tracts (Calcutta, 1873) ; G.H. Damant and his articles in *Indian Antiquary*, 1872ff) ; now published as Tales from Bangladesh (Dr. Ashraf Siddiqui ed. Dacca, 1976) ; Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal (Edward Twite Dalton ; Calcutta, 1872) ; Hill Proverbs of the Inhabitants of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (Thomas Herbert Lewin ; Calcutta, 1873) ; Govinda Samanta or the History of a Bengal Raiyat (Lal Behari Day ; Calcutta, 1874) ; Probad Mala: Two Thousand Bengali Proverbs Illustrating Native Life and Feeling (Rev. James Long ; Calcutta, 1868) ; Europe and Asia Khandastha Probadmala : Proverbs of Europe and Asia, Translated into Bengali (Calcutta; 1869) ; Calcutta and Bombay in their Social Life (Calcutta; 1870) ; Three Thousand Bengali Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings Illustrating Native Life and Feelings Among Riots and Women (Calcutta ; 1872) ; Oriental Proverbs, in their Relations to Folklore, History, Sociology ; with suggestions for their Collection, Interpretations and Publications (Calcutta ; 1875) ; Eastern Proverbs and Emblems (London ; 1881) ; "An Investigation into the Origin of the Festival of Krishna-janmastomi" (A. Weber ; Ind. Ant. III, 1874ff) ; "On Human Sacrifice in Ancient India" (Rajendralal Mitra ; JASB ; XIX, 1876, pp. 76-180) ; Kharputta jataka (Fausboll ; London, 1875) ; "The Song of Manikchandra" (Grierson ; JASB, XLVII, 1878, pp. 135-238 ; *ibid.*, LXI ; 1885, pp. 35—55), and others.

Beginning of Scientific Scholarship : (1879-1890) :

The establishment of the Folk-Lore Society in London in 1878 ; publications of Journals like Folk-Lore Record (1878-1882) ; Folk-Lore Journal (1883-1889) ; Folk-Lore (1890ff) and its impact—influence of Anthropological School : Dar-

win's work — Tylor — Farazer—MacCulloch—Gomme—Hartland—Survivalists : Lang—Clodd—Nutt—van Gennep, Nawmann—Boas etc.—Influence of comparative philologists and Indianists : Brother Grimms—Theodore Benfey—Brown etc.

Indian Fairy Tales (Maive Stokes ; Calcutta, 1879) ; Inner Life of Hindoo Society in Bengal (Shib Chandra Bose ; Calcutta and London, 1881) ; Santal Folk Tales (Dr. A. Campbell ; Manbhum, 1881) ; The Hindoos As They Are : A Description of the Manners, Customs and Hindu Mythology, Vedic and Puranic (W.J. Wilkins ; Calcutta, 1782) ; Folktales of Bengal (Lal Behari Day ; London, 1883) ; Baul Sangeet Nafarchandra Datta ; Calcutta, 1883) ; Popular Tales and Fiction, 2 Vols. (Clouston ; London, 1886) ; The Book of Noodles (London, 1888) ;

Scientific Scholarship : 1891-1919 :

Tribes and Castes of Bengal (Herbert Risley ; Calcutta, 1891) ; The Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India, 2 Vols. (William Crooke, London, 1893) ; "The Legends of Krishna" (Folk-Lore, XI, London 1900, pp. 1-38) ; "The Holi", (ibid, XXV, 1914, pp. 55-85) ; "The Dassara, an Autumn Festival of the Hindus", (ibid, XXVI ; 1915, pp. 28-29) ; "The Divali", (ibid., XXXIV, 1923, pp. 167-292) Linguistic Survey of India (Sir George Abraham Grierson ; 19 Vols. Calcutta, 1903-1928) ; Some Chittagong Proverbs (J.D. Anderson ; Calcutta, 1897) ; "Note on the Case of Human Sacrifice at Dacca" (S.M. Edwardes ; JAS. Bom. VII, 1904-1907, pp. 125-126) ; "The Hindus of Eastern Bengal" (James Wise ; JASB, LXII, 1893, pp. 1-8) ; "The Muhmedans of Eastern Bengal" (ibid., LXIII, 1894, pp. 28-63) ; Notes on the Races, Castes and Trades of Eastern Bengal (London, 1883) ; Fables and Folktales from an Eastern Forest (Skeat ; London, 1901) ; "Exorcism of Wild Animals in the Sundarbans" (D. Sunder ; JASB ; LXXII, 1903, pp. 45-63) ; Kurukh Folklore in the Original (Rev. H. Hahn ; Calcutta, 1905) ; The Mikirs (Sir Charles Lyall and Edward Stack ; London, 1908) ; Tales of

Bengal (Henry Francis Skrine ; London, 1908) ; The Khasis (T. Gordon ; London, 1907) ; The Kacharis (Rev. Sydney Endle ; London, 1911) ; The Origins of the Mussalmans of Bengal (Khandker Fazli Rabbi ; Calcutta, 1895) ; The Meitheis (Thomas Callan Hodson ; London, 1908) ; Naga Tribes of Manipur (London ; 1911) ; The Lushai Kuki Clans (John Shakespeare ; London, 1912) ; Folk-tales of the Khasis (K.V. Rafi ; London, 1912) ; Folktales of Hindusthan (Shaikh Chilli ; Allahabad, 1908) ; Folktales of Assam (F. Barooah ; Howrah, 1916) ; The Garos (Major Alan Playfair ; London, 1909) ; Folklore of Santal Parganas (C.H. Bompas ; London, 1909) ; The Mundas and their Country (Sarat Chandra Roy ; Calcutta, 1912) ; The Oraons of Chotonagpur : their History, Economic Life and Social Organizations (Ranchi ; 1915) ; Hindu Holidays and Ceremonies with a Dissertation on Origin, Folklore, and Symbols (Roy Bahadur B.A. Gupta ; Calcutta, 1919) ; etc.

Bengali Nationalism and Folklore Collection :

Tagore's contributions to Bharati, Sahitya Parisat Patrika, Sadhana, Prabashi etc. ; Establishment of Tatwabodhini Sava (1843)—Hindu Mela (1872)—Bangiya Sahitya Parisat (1893).

Loka-Sahitya (Rabindranath Tagore ; Calcutta, 1907) ; collections of Basanta Ranjan Roy, Abdul Karim Sahitya Bisarada, Haridas Palit, Chinta Haran Chakraborty in Sahitya Parisat Patrika (Calcutta, 1301 B.S. 1894 ff) ; Bardhamaner Chara (Kunjalata Ray ; Calcutta, 1894) ; Chara (Ambika Charan Gupta ; Hoogli, 1896) ; Chele-Bhulano Chara (Ashutosh Mukhopadhaya ; Calcutta, 1899) ; Khukumanir Chara (Jogindra Nath Sarkar, Calcutta 1309 B.S. ; 1902) ; Probad Sangraha (Kanailal Ghosal ; Calcutta, 1890) ; Probad Pustaka (Dwaraknath Basu ; Calcutta, 1893) ; A Collection of Agricultural Sayings in Lower Bengal (Rajendra Nath Banerji ; Calcutta, 1893) ; Popular Tales of Bengal (Kashindranath Banerjee ; Calcutta, 1905) ; Thakurmar Jhuli (Dakshinaranjan Mitra Majumder ; Calcutta, 1906) ; Thakur Dadar Jhuli

(Calcutta, 1908) ; Thandidir Thale (Calcutta, 1911) ; Dadamos-haer Thale (Calcutta, 1924) ; Toon Toonir Boi (Upendra Kishore Roy Chowdhury ; Calcutta, 1910) ; Tales—Sacred and Secular (Dwijendra Nath Neogi ; Calcutta, 1912) ; The Orient Pearl (Shovana Devi ; London, 1915) ; Boudhagan-O-Doha (Haraprosad Shastri ; Calcutta, 1916) ; The Folk-Elements in Hindu Culture (Benoy Kumar Sarkar ; Calcutta, 1917) ; Adyer Gambhira (Haridas Palit ; Allahabad, 1912) ; Banglar Brata-Katha (Abanindra Nath Tagore ; Calcutta, 1919) ; Bengal Fairy Tales (mostly translation from Bengali sources ; F.B. Bradley-Birt ; London and New York, 1920) ; etc.

Three dimensions impact : Impact of Anthropologists, Survivalists and Indianists :

Bengali Household Tales (McCulloch ; London, 1912) ; Sarat Chanda Mitra (his most scholarly articles scattered in various national and international journals such as JRAS (London, 1897 ff) ; Calcutta Review (1898 ff) ; JASB (1898ff) Folk-Lore (London, 1898 ff) ; JAS. Bom. (1901 ff) ; JBORS (1918 ff) ; QJMS (1923ff) ; Man in India (1923 ff) ; JDL (1924 ff) ; JASB (1931ff) ; Hindustahan (Allahabad, 1917ff) ; Articles by Moulvi Abdul Wali (JAS. Bom. 1901-1912 ; JASB, Calcutta, 1898-1907) ; Calcutta Review, Calcutta, 1907ff) ; etc.

(1920-1947) :

Influence of Max Muller—Theodore Benfey—Bloomfield—Cowell—Tawney—Penzer etc. :

The Jataka or Stories of Buddha's Former Birth (E.B. Cowell ; 6 Vols ; Cambridge, 1895-1907) ; The Supta Sati (Pandit C.V. Ramassami ; Calcutta, 1923) ; Katha Sarit Sagara (Tawney and N.M. Penzer ; 10 Vols ; London, 1923-1929) ; Vikram's Adventure or the Thirty-two Tales of the Throne (Franklin Edgerton ; Pennsylvania, 1926) ; The Panchatantra Reconstructed (New Haven, 1924) ; Vikram's Adventure or the Thirty-two tales of the Throne (Pennsylvania, 1926) ; Buddhist

Legends (E.W. Barlingame ; Pennsylvania, 1921) ; Dammapada Commentary (Pennsylvania, 1921) ; Buddhist Parables (New Haven, 1922) ; etc.

Systematic Collection and Scholarship :

Glimpses of Bengali Life : Dinesh Chandra Sen; (Calcutta, 1915); Sajher Bhog (Calcutta, 1919); Folk-Literature of Bengal (Calcutta ; 1920) ; Eastern Bengal Ballads : Mymensingh (Calcutta, 1923; 1926-1932); Brihat Banga; 2 Vols ; Calcutta, 1934); contribution of Sarat Chandra Mitra (in various journals) ; Kalipada Mitra (in various journals) ; Hem Chandra Das ; Hara Sundara Lal ; Jatindra Mohan Datta ; Charu Chandra Das Gupta etc. in various issues of JPASB, JRASB (1923-1940) ; L' Ethnology du Bengale (Biren Bonnerjea ; Paris, 1927) ; articles in various journals (e.g., Indian Antiquary, 1928ff) ; Folk Tales of Orissa (Upendra Narayan Dattagupta ; Calcutta, 1923) ; Aspects of old Bengali Literature (Tomonash Chandra Das Gupta ; Calcutta, 1935) ; Wit and Wisdom of India (Pandit Shyma-Shankar ; New York, 1934) ; Patua-Sangeet (Guru Saday Dutta ; Calcutta, 1939) ; various articles published in journals on Bratachari, Folksongs and Folk-dance e.g., The Indian Art and Letters (London, 1936) ; Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art (Calcutta, 1949); etc.. "Dr.A. Bake's Researches in Indian Music and Folklore" (A.C. French ; Indian Art and Letters. (VII, 1933; pp. 10-13) ; Dr. Muhammad Shahidullah (various articles in journals and in his books) ; Rangila Nayer Majhi (Jassim Uddin ; Calcutta, 1938); Bangalir Hasir Galpa etc. (collected during this period but published later, Dacca, 1960) ; Jarigan ; published later (Dacca, 1968); and his articles published in various journals) : Probasi, Mohammadi etc. ; Haramoni : (Monsur Uddin; Vol. I (Calcutta, 1939) Vol. II (Calcutta, 1942); Vol. III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII published later but collected during this period ; his articles in various journals ; Abbas Uddin's collection of folksong as contained in Abbas Uddiner Gan (Dacca, 1960) ; "Women's Dialect in Bengali" (Dr. Sukumar Sen; JDL, (Calcutta, 1928) ;

Chattagrami Banglar Rahasya Ved (Dr. Muhammad Enamul Huq ; Chittagong, 1935) ; Palli Shahitye Kurano Manik (Muhammad Hanif Pathan ; Dacca, 1936) ; Bangla Mongol Kavyer Itihas (Asutosh Bhattacharya ; Calcutta, 1939 ; 4th ed. Calcutta, 1964) ; Bangla Probad (Dr. S.K. De ; Calcutta, 1945 ; 2nd ed. 1952). The Background of Assamese Culture (Rajmohan Nath ; Gouhati, 1948); etc.

Tribal Folklore :

A Chapter of Santal Folklore (P.O. Bodding ; Christiania, 1924) ; Santal Folk Tales ; 3 Vols ; (Oslo, 1926-1929) ; Studies in Santal Medicine and Conneted Folklore; Memoirs; Asiatic Society. of Bengal, Vol. I, pt. I, 1925 ; No. 2: pt. II, 1927; No. 3, pt. III, (Calcutta, 1940) ; Santal Riddles ; O. Solberg ed. (Oslo, 1948); Witchcraft Among the Santal (Oslo, 1948); The Angami Nagas (J.H. Hutton ; London, 1921) ; The Sema Nagas (London, 1922) ; The Lhota Nagas (J.P. Mills ; London, 1926) ; The Rengma Nagas (London, 1931) ; The Lakhers (N.E. Parry ; London, 1952) ; A.K. Mitra, P.K. Mitra (various articles in journals ; e.g. Man in India (1938 ff) ; etc.

Folklore Activities After 1947 : West Bengal :

Asutosh Bhattacharya (various articles in journals ; e.g Man in India (1947 ff) ; QJMS (1952ff) ; Indian Folklore (1956ff) ; etc ; Banglar Loka-Shahitya, (1st ed. Calcutta, 1954 ; 2nd ed. Calcutta ; 1957 ; 3rd ed. Calcutta, 1962); Banglar Loka-Sruti (Calcutta, 1954) ; Banglar Loko-Sahitya, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1963) ; Vol. III (Calcutta ; 1966) ; Vol. IV (Calcutta ; 1966) ; Gopichandrer Gan (1st ed. Calcutta ; 1965) ; Banglar Loka-Sangeet Vol. I (Calcutta ; 1962) : Vol. II (Calcutta, 1963) ; Vo. III (Calcutta, 1964) ; Vol. IV (Calcutta ; 1965) ; Vol. V (Calcutta ; 1966) ; Bangiya Loka Sangeet, Ratnakar Vol. I (Calcutta, 1966) ; Vol. II (Calcutta, 1966) ; Vol. III (Calcutta, 1967) ; Vol. IV (Calcutta ; 1967) ; The Red River and the Blue Hill (Hem Barua ; Gouhati, 1956) ; Banglar Pal Parban (Chintaharan Chakravarti; Bisya-Bharati, 1952) ; Alpana Ritual Decoration in Bengal (Tapan Mohan Chatterjee;

Bombay, 1948); Folk Toys of India (Tapan Mohan Chatterjee; Calcutta, New Delhi, 1956); Kinbadantir Deshe (Subodh Ghosh; Calcutta, 1954); Bihu Songs of Assam (Profulla Datta Goswami; Gouhati, 1957); The Springtime Bihu of Assam (Gouhati, 1966); Harvest Festivals and Bihu Songs of Assam (Sukumar Biswas; Gouhati, 1964); Urissar Loka-Sahitya (Nikunja Bibari Das; Calcutta, 1960); Gramin Nritya O Natya (Santidev Ghosh; Calcutta, 1959); Ballads and Tales of Assam, (Gouhati, 1960); The Arts and Crafts of India and Pakistan (Shanti Swarup; Bombay, 1957) Simanta Banglar Lokajan (Sudhir Kumar Karan; Calcutta, 1964); Palligeeti O Purba-Banga (Chitta Ranjan Dev; Calcutta, 1953); Banglar Baul O Baul Sangeet (Uppendrakumar Bhattacharjee; Calcutta, 1954); A Poetic Representation of the Fusion of Sakta and Vaishnava Cultures (Prof. Priyaranjan Sen; Calcutta, 1963); Kathakali (K.P. Padmanathan Tampy, with Nabarasa Pose of Guru Gopinath; Calcutta, 1963); Rain in Indian Life and Lore (Sankar Sen Gupta ed.; Calcutta, 1963); Folklore Research in India; Official Proceedings of the All-India Folklore Conference, Calcutta, 1964 (Edited with an Introduction by Sankar Sen Gupta; Calcutta, 1964); Studies in Indian Folk Culture; An Anthology (edited by Sankar Sen Gupta and Dr. K.D. Upadhyaya; Calcutta, 1964); Tree Symbol Worship in India (Edited with an Introduction by Sankar Sen Gupta; Preface; Madame Sophia Wadia; Calcutta, 1965); The Changing Cultural Landscape of Nadia (Dr. Bireswar Banerjee, Deptt. of Geography, Univ. of Calcutta and Neal M. Bowers, Dept. of Geography, Univ. of Hawaii; Calcutta, 1965); A Guide to Field Study (Edited with an Introduction by Sankar Sen Gupta, Foreword: Prof Niharranjan Ray, Director, Indian Inst. of Advanced Study; Calcutta, 1965); Folklorists of Bengal, (Sankar Sen Gupta, Foreword; Hiranmay Banerjee, Vice-Chancellor, Rabindra Bharati University, Introduction: Asok Mitra, I.C.S. Registrar General of India; Calcutta, 1965); Folklore Library (Dr. Piyushkanti Mahapatra, Introduction by Sankar Sen

Gupta, Forewords ; Prof. Niharranjan Ray ; Calcutta, 1968) ; 500 Questions on the Subject Requiring Investigation in the Social Condition of the Peoples of India (Rev. James Long ; edited with bibliographical notes by Dr. Mahadeva Prasad Saha ; Asiatic Society , Calcutta, Introduction Sankar Sen Gupta ; Calcutta, 1966) ; A Comparative Study of a Bengal Folktale (Dipl. Theol. Ralph Troger ; Intr. by Heinz Mode ; Calcutta, 1966) ; A Survey of Folklore Study in Bengal ; West Bengal and East Pakistan (Sankar Sen Gupta ; Calcutta, 1967) ; A Bibliography of Indian Folklore and Related Subjects (Sankar Sen Gupta and Dr. Shyam Parmar ; Calcutta, 1967) ; Industrial Profile of the Calcutta Metropolitan District (Dr. Bireswar Banerjee, and Debika Roy ; Calcutta , 1967) ; Folk-Music and Folklore ; an Anthology, Vol. I (Chief Editor, Hamanga Biswas ; Calcutta, 1967) ; Four Midnapur Villages ; Village survey Monograph (Dr. P.K. Bhowmick ; Calcutta, 1967) ; Krishna in the Traditional Paintings of Bengal (Bholanath Bhattacharya ; Calcutta, 1968) ; The Goddess Barghima : a Study (Dr. P.K. Maity ; Calcutta, 1968) ; Popular Cults, Legends and Stories in Ancient Bengal (Dr. P.K. Maity ; Calcutta, 1968) ; Ethno-Musicology and India (Sudhi Bhushan Bhattacharya ; Calcutta, 1968) ; Studies in Museum and Museology in India (D.P. Ghosh ; Calcutta, 1968) ; Land and People of Himalaya (Dr. S.C. Bose ; Calcutta, 1968) ; Loukik Savdokosh ; Bengali Encyclopaedia of Bengali Folk words ; (Kaminikumar Ray : Introduction by Prof. Dr. S.K. Chatterjee, National Professor of Humanites in India ; Calcutta, 1968) ; Women in Indian Folklore (Sankar Sen Gupta, Foreword : smt. Indira Gandhi Calcutta, 1969) ; Occupational Mobility and Caste Structure in Bengal : A Study of Rural Market (Dr. P.K. Bhowmick, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Calcutta, with an Introduction by Sankar Sen Gupta ; Foreword : Prof. N.K. Bose ; F.N.I., Calcutta, 1969) ; Bihu Geet Aru Banghosha (Sree Lila Gagai ; Gouhati, 1969 ; Ist. ed. 1961) ; A Book of Bengali Verse ; from 10th to 20th Century, edited

with an introduction (Nandagopal Sen Gupta ; Calcutta, 1969); Lokayata Bangla (Prof. Sunil Chakravarti ; Calcutta, 1969); Bibidha Prabandha (Sankar Sen Gupta and Akshya Kumar Kayal ; Calcutta, 1969); Banglar Loukik Devata (Gopendra Krishna Basu; Calcutta, 1969 2nd. ed.); Paschim Simanta Banger Loka-Sahitya (Sri Subas Bandopadhaya; Calcutta ; 1969); A Study of Women of Bengal (Sankar Sen Gupta; Calcutta, 1970) ; Uttar Banger Loka-Sahitya (Sushil Kumar Bhattacharya ; Calcutta, 1970) ; An Approach to the Study of Indian Music (Dr. Purnima Singh ; Calcutta, 1970) ; A Study of the Technology of Some of the Important Traditional Crafts in Ancient & Medieval India (M.K. Pal ; Calcutta, 1970) ; A Bibliography of Folklore of Bihar (Harish Chandra Prasad and Gita Sen Gupta ; Foreword : Sankar Sen Gupta ; Calcutta, 1971) ; Uttar-Rarher Lok-Sangeet (Dilip Mukharjee ; Foreword H. Banerjee, Vice-Chancellor, Rabindra Bharati University ; Preface : Tarasankar Banerjee : Novelist, and Introduction : Sankar Sen Gupta ; Calcutta, 1971) ; Levels of Living (B.P. Guha, IES and J.N. Sharma, IES. ; Calcutta, 1972) ; Folk-Cults of Bengal (Dr. P.K. Mahapatra ; Calcutta, 1972) ; The Patas and Patuas of Bengal (Sankar Sen Gupta ed. ; Calcutta, 1972) ; Bihar in Folklore Study (edited by Dr. L.P. Vidyarthi ; Ganesh Chaubey ; General Editor : Sankar Sen Gupta ; Calcutta, 1972) ; Chow Dance of Purulia (Asutosh Bhattacharya ; Calcutta, 1972) ; Dr. Dulal Chowdury and his articles ; Dr. Tushar Chatterjee and his articles ; The Bauris of West Bengal (Dr. K.C. Shasmal ; Calcutta, 1972) ; Banglar Mukh Ami Dekhiasi (Sankar Sen Gupta ; Calcutta, 1972); Jharkhamdi Loka-Bhasar Gan (Dr. Dharendra Nath Saha ; Calcutta, 1972) ; Bangali Jibane Bibaha (Sankar Sen Gupta ; Calcutta, 1974) ; Folk Elements in Bengal Life (Dr. S.K. Sur. Calcutta, 1975) ; Folklore and Folk Life in India (Sankar Sen Gupta: Calcutta, 1975) ; Bangalir Kheladhula (Calcutta ; 1976) ; Folklore of Bengal (Calcutta, 1976); Malaya (M. Dutta ed. by Smt. Gita Sen Gupta, Calcutta, 1975) ; Banglar Loka-Sanskriti : Paschimbanger Puja Parbon O Mela ; 4

Vols : upto 1975 another volume forthcoming : Govt. of West Bengal, Calcutta) ; etc.

East Bengal (Bangladesh) :

Activities under the initiative of Bangla Academy and Academy publications : Momenshahir Loka Sahitya (Raoshan Izdani ; Dacca, 1957 ; 2nd. ed. Dacca, 1968) ; Uttar Banger Meyeli Geet (Hasan Hafizur Rahman and Alamgir Jalil ; Dacca, 1963) ; Baul Gan O Dudhu Shah (Borhan Uddin Khan Jahangir ; Dacca, 1963) ; Baul Tatwa (Dr. Ahmed Sharif ; Dacca, 1973) ; Songs of Lalan Shah (Tr. Abu Rushed ; Dacca, 1964) ; Khulna Jessorer Chara (Siva Prasanna Lahiri ; Dacca, 1965) ; compilation of various genres of folklore by the Bangla Academy, e.g. Loka-Sahitya, Vol. I (Dacca, 1963) ; Vol. II (Dacca, 1963) ; Vol. III (Dacca, 1964) ; Vol. IV (Dacca, 1965) ; Vol. V (Dacca, 1965) ; Vol. VI (Dacca, 1966) ; Vol. VII (Dacca, 1969) ; Vol. VIII-XIII (Dacca, 1971-76) ; Kishoreganjer Loka-kahini, Vol. I (Ashraf Siddiqui ; Dacca, 1965) ; Rajshahir Chara (Alamgir Jalil ; Dacca, 1965) ; Loka Sahitye Chara (Sirajuddin Kassimpuri ; Dacca, 1962) ; Daccar Lok-Kahini (Dr. Mohammad Moniruzzaman ; Dacca, 1965 : 1372 B.S.) ; Loka Sahitye Dhanda O Prabod ; (Sirajuddin Kassimpuri ; Dacca, 1968) ; Banglar Sufi Sahitya (Dr. Ahmed Sharif ; Dacca, 1969) ; Sylhet Geetika (Badiuzzaman ; Dacca, 1968) ; Momenshahi Geetika ; Dacca, 1971) ; Haramoni, Vol. II, 2nd. ed. Monsur Uddin : Dacca, 1972) ; Haramoni, Vol. VII (Dacca ; 1964) ; Haramoni, Vol. VIII (Dacca ; 1976) ; Lalan Shah O Lalan Geetika, 2 Vols. (Abu Talib : Dacca, 1968ff) ; A History of Folklore Collections in India and Pakistan (Dr. Mazharul Islam ; Ph. D. Thesis, 1963 ; Dacca, 1970) : Purba-Pakistani Loka-Kahini, (Rajshahi ; 1969) ; Folklore Parichiti and Loka-Sahityer Pathan Pathan ; (Dacca, 2nd. ed. 1974) ; Folktales of Bangladesh, (Kabir Chowdhury ed. ; Dacca, 1972) ; Bagurar Loka-Sahitya (Khodeja Khatun ; Dacca, 1974) ; Gopi Chandrer Sanyas (Abul Kalam Mohammad Zakaria ; Dacca, 1974) ; Bangladesher Loukik

Oitizha (Abdul Hafiz ; Dacca, 1975) ; Bangla Sahitye Loke Sanskritir Upadan (Dr. Wakil Ahmed ; Ph. D. Thesis ; D.U., 1972 ; Published as Banglar Loka-Sanskriti (Dacca, 1974) ; Jassoharer Loka-Kahini (Dr. Mohammad Moniruzzaman ; Dacca, 1975) ; Banglar Loka-Sangeet Parichiti (Sirajuddin Kassimpuri ; Dacca, 1973) ; Bangla Probad Parichiti (Hanif Pathan ; Dacca 1976); etc.

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Abbreviations

Ind. Ant.=Indian Antiquary.

JAF=Journal of American Folklore.

J (P) ASB=Journal (and Proceedings) : of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

JASP=Journal of Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca.

JAS. Bom.=Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.

JBORS=Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

JDL=Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta.

JIFC=Journal of the International Folk Music Council.

JRASB=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

QJMS=Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.

